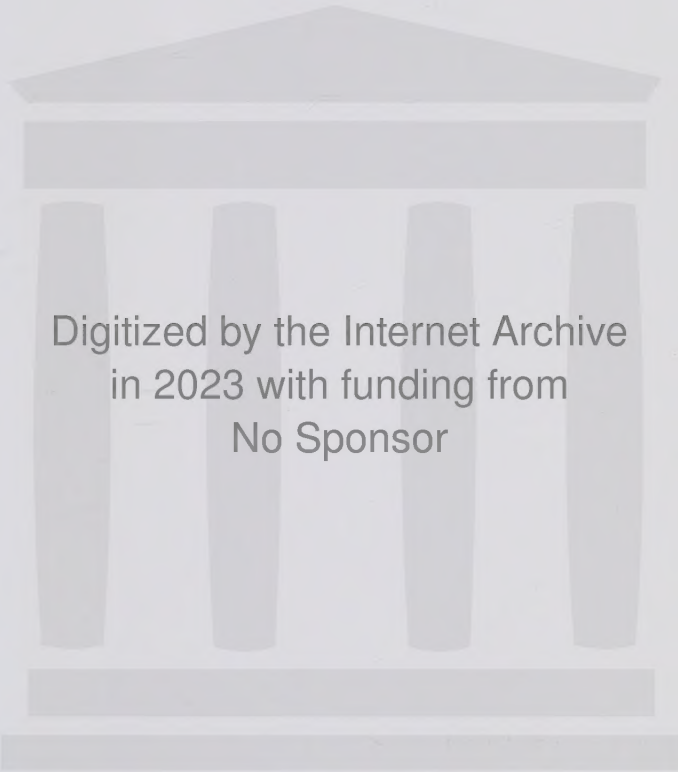




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THE GENDER OF WORDS DENOTING LIVING BEINGS
IN ENGLISH AND THE DIFFERENT WAYS

OF
EXPRESSING DIFFERENCE IN SEX

BY
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BY DUE PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF LUND TO BE PUBLICLY
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Errata et addenda.

- P. 3 l. 11 from foot: Nothing so dangerous as to check a brute whether he be horse, dog or man (Hypatia II. 156), should be struck out.
- P. 4 l. 4 „ „ Shak. As, should be: Shak. As You Like It.
- P. 24 l. 14 „ „ II. Kings 21. 10:
A. beem of websters. } should be struck out.
(B. beem of webbis). }
- P. 26 l. 14 from top: I publish the banns of marriage between — bachelor and — spinster (B. of C. Prayer), read: I found myself assisting in the secure tying up of Irene Adler spinster to Godfrey Norton bachelor (Sherl. Holmes, p. 10 c. 2).
- P. 72 l. 2 from foot: *lox*, read: *lox* (masc.?); l. 1 from foot: *oter*, *otr*, read: *oter*, *otr* (masc.?).
- P. 73 l. 1 from top: *capun*, read: *capun* (masc.?).
„ l. 5 „ „ *fleah*, should be struck out.
-

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OE. = Old English.

ME. = Middle English.

NE. = New English.

p. = page.

c. = column.

l. = line.

¹⁾ Latest Edition was not accessible to me.

The principal works, in which gender in English is treated, are the grammars by Fiedler-Sachs, Mätzner and Koch. These three grammars deal with the subject in a more or less detailed account. Fiedler-Sachs treats the subject partly in the accidence or properly speaking at the end of the treaty of wordformation (part I. p. 214) partly in the syntax (part II. p. 133—150). He distinguishes between natural and grammatical gender ("zu unterscheiden ist zwischen natürlichem und grammatischem Geschlecht"). The natural gender is, Fiedler says, based on the observation of the real sexual difference in human beings and animals, and the grammatical gender transfers the natural genders on words of every description. Under this heading grammatical gender he deals with names of animals used without regard to sex and lifeless things to which are, esp. in the dialects, prefixed popular names like *Jack*, *Jenny* etc., with words like *sun*, *moon* and finally with abstract nouns: *age*, *heaven*, *death* etc. In dealing with the natural gender he divides the nouns belonging there into three categories according to the different ways of indicating difference in sex: a) the sex is denoted by means of different words; b) the feminine gender is formed from the masculine gender by means of changes and enlargements ("Veränderungen und Erweiterungen"); c) difference in sex is expressed by means of composition.

Finally, he adds without establishing a separate fourth category that there are many nouns of common gender ("Hauptwörter von gemeinsamen Geschlecht"). In the syntax he deals first with words of common gender, denoting human beings, and then with animals, lifeless things, sciences, abstract nouns and qualities. Finally he passes over to gender denoted by means of composition, which is a supplement to what has been said in the *accidence*. It seems to me that Fiedler-Sachs' exposition is confused because he does not treat gender in an uninterrupted series and because on account of the absence of a proper division he brings together under a heading living beings and lifeless things. That some parts are imperfectly treated and that due attention has not been paid to the historical development may be excused on account of the early period of the publication of this grammar. Of his examples many are valuable, but in many cases it is absolutely impossible for the reader to find out the gender of a given word, this not being marked out for the eye in a satisfactory way (cf. Fiedler-Sachs II. p. 138, 139).

Mätzner deals with gender in an uninterrupted connection in the *accidence* (part I. p. 240—261). In his divisions he starts from the three genders. As to the masculine and feminine gender the natural difference in sex is expressed 1) by words of a different root or by words the sexual derivative ending of which is obliterated, 2) by means of a derivative ending, 3) A great number of nouns must be considered to be of common gender ("doppelgeschlechtig"). Accordingly, in all these subdivisions it is only question of living beings. But when he deals with the neuter gender ("das sächliche Geschlecht", p. 248 b), he subsumes under this category: concrete nouns of things ("konkrete Sachnamen"), names of animals without regard to sex ("Thiernamen in

generellem Sinne") and nouns like *child* and *boy*. Accordingly, he brings together living beings and lifeless things like Fiedler-Sachs. Moreover, to take the three genders as starting point (especially the neuter gender) is unsuitable, because many of the words fluctuate much with regard to gender. And practically Mätzner must register many exceptions (cf. page 250—253). Frequently, especially in dealing with nouns of animals he does not give examples in support of his statements. For all that, however, Mätzner's treatment of the subject is better than that of his predecessor and is remarkable for trustworthy statements and many good examples.

Koch's treatment of gender (part I. p. 361—380) is far superior to that of his predecessors. He begins his exposition by establishing four categories of nouns: 1) living beings, 2) lifeless material objects ("nicht lebendige sinnliche Gegenstände"), 3) abstract nouns, 4) foreign words. This system of dealing with living beings in a separate category makes his exposition clearer than that of Fiedler-Sachs and of Mätzner. In dealing with living beings he divides the nouns belonging there into four classes according to the different ways of expressing difference in sex. He marks out distinctly the different epochs of English, though of course his chronological division is antiquated. As a rule, he quotes examples in support of his statements. But his way of treating the nouns of common gender (human beings) is unsatisfactory (cf. Koch I. p. 380: "Auch einige Personennamen etc."). It is striking that he never quotes his predecessors, though he seems to have availed himself of both.

Method of determining gender in English.

The general means to determine gender in English (apart from inflections and endings) are the personal pronouns *he, she, it* and the corresponding possessive pronouns. It is not necessary, I think, to indicate here the way in which one can by means of them ascertain the gender of the noun to which they refer. But it is necessary to point out some forms in OE. and ME. which should be consulted with much care in establishing the gender of a given noun. These forms are: *him, himself, her, his*. As regards *him*, this form was in dative singular both masculine and neuter and continued to be so up to 16th c. Accordingly *him* in dative did not originally point to masculine gender. Only when *him* occurred together with *he*, the noun referred to might be classed with certainty among masculines. Likewise *himself* in reflexive use does not either allow any conclusions as to masculine or neuter gender, unless supported by other criteria. *His* was in OE. and ME. both masculine and neuter genitive. In the 16th c. *his* began to be restricted to the masculine gender and for the neuter was used *therof* (which occurs frequently in Wyclif), until the new possessive genitive *its* came in use. Even as late as Shakspeare *his* is sometimes possessive of the neuter pronoun *it* (cf. Schmidt, Shak., art. *his* 2). Consequently *his* like *him, himself* did not by itself allow any conclusions to be drawn with regard to the gender of the noun it referred to, unless other criteria occurred, by which a correct judgment might be formed. Only in allegorical style, *him, himself* and *his* may be considered to point to masculine gender. *Her* does not with certainty point to feminine gender, as in Early English *her* alternated with *their* as a plural possessive. In this case

the number of the verb or other criteria must decide the question.

Finally it should be added that in some instances the gender of a given noun was determined from appositions, like *son*, *daughter*. Thus, when the *owl* is said to be a baker's daughter and the *sparrow* is called Venus' son, feminine gender was attributed to *owl* and masculine gender to *sparrow*. Such examples, however, were inserted only when no others were found.



Introduction.

English grammars generally distinguish between sex and gender, the former being a natural distinction, which applies to living beings, gender being a grammatical category, which applies to words only. The basis for the development of gender is the natural sexual distinction in human beings and animals. Accordingly, gender as imitation, reproduction of sex is strictly speaking only twofold: masculine and feminine. This imitation, however, is not completely carried out. In point of many names of living beings the sex has been left unregarded and one single form (class-noun) is used for the two sexes, male and female, e. g. *eagle, elephant*. When sex is emphasized, the language generally resorts to a sex-distinguishing adjunct to qualify the classnoun. In point of some other nouns, as is the case with *parent, child, sovereign*, the language has at its disposal, when reference is made to sex, two special correlatives, one for the masculine idea, the other for the feminine. *Parent* includes *father* — *mother*, *child*: *boy* — *girl*, *sovereign*: *king* — *queen*, *horse*: *stallion* — *mare*.

When in Aryan the two original categories had become associated with distinctions of sex, the neuter was evolved to denote absence of sex. Neutrum is neither kind; ne werlices ne wiflices, neutrum is neither kind,

neither of male nor of female (Aelfr. Gr. quoted from Bos-Toll). The result was consequently a threefold system of gender. But its character was modified almost from the outset in two different ways: first many objects which are without sex were thought of as having an analogy to male or female persons and accordingly received masculine or feminine inflection; and in the second place, objects which have sex were thought of without reference to sex and accordingly received neuter inflection.

Thus the system of grammatical inflection assumed to a great extent a fictitious and even an arbitrary character. This system had become fully developed before the separation of the Indo-Europæan family and it is found essentially unchanged not only in the Gothic but in OE. as well. Thus the system of gender in OE. presented such anomalies as *þæt wif*, *þæt mægden*, and *se fot*, *seo hond*. From a certain period, however great changes took place in English and the gender became regulated by rationality: the grammatical gender gradually ceased to exist.

The linguistic means by which we can ascertain the grammatical gender of a word is the concord which prevails between the word in question and a personal or possessive pronoun syntactically associated with it. From a grammatical point of view, a word is said to belong to the masculine, feminine or neuter gender, according as it is spoken of by *he* — *his*, *she* — *her*, *it* — *its*. But this threefold division is not satisfactory from a psychological point of view. In fact, there are words in English which can refer to a male, or to a female according to the case and even to both at the same time. And finally there are some words which can be used with regard to personal beings as well as to impersonal objects. Logically we must make a fivefold division, which division is practically applicable to the present

state of things in English from the time the gender became regulated by rationality.

1. Words denoting males; these words correspond to the masculine class of the grammatical gender. Such words are e. g.: *father*, *boy*, *man* (male human being), *stallion*. The outward sign of their masculine character is that they are spoken of by *he*, *his*.

2. Words indicating females, which words belong to the feminine class of the grammatical gender. Such nouns are: *mother*, *girl*, *mare*. They are referred to by *she*, *her*.

3. a) Words like *parent*, *child*, *babe*, *youth*, *man* (human being), *sovereign*, *person*, *individual*, *mate*; which can, when necessary, include two parallel nouns (correlatives), one male and the other female (*parent*: *father* — *mother*, *sovereign*: *king* — *queen*), are of common gender. As English does not possess a personal or possessive pronoun of common gender, it resorts to different ways out of the difficulty: sometimes logically by *he* or *she* (*his* or *her*), sometimes by *he*, *his* (alone), sometimes by *they*, *their*.

Is *man* so different from any of these apes that *he* must form an order by *himself* (Ency. Brit. Vol. II. p. 107, c. 2). — Let no *man* seek *his* own, but each *his* neighbour's good (I. Cor. 10. 24). — Nothing so dangerous as to check a *brute* whether *he* be horse, dog or man (Hypatia II. 156). — If any *man* hath ears to hear, let *him* hear (Marc 4. 23). — *Man* being not only the noblest creature in the world but even a very world in *himself* (Merlin quoted Cent. Dict.). — I could not see the *person*, but I could distinctly feel *his* or *her* gaze (She p. 88, c. 2). — A *person's* face indicates . . . what is *his* or *her* peculiar character (Tit-bits 3. 9. 92). — The privilege of addressing the *sovereign* when *he* or *she* came to dine . . . after *their* coronation (Temple

Magazine Aug. 1900, p. 912 c. 2). — One of the *parties* must have had *his* or *her* usual place of residence (Whitaker's Almanack, p. 402, c. 1).

b) No special word of common gender exists in the majority of cases in English; but of the two correlatives, one for the male and the other generally with the derivative ending *-ess(e)* for the female, the former is used when reference is made to both sexes i. e. with the sense of a word of common gender (*actor*: *actor* — *actress*).

Paul L. and Hildred S. were chief *actors* in a ceremony (Eves 32). — Nisard pronouns George Sand the *master* of French prose writers (Ency. Brit. Dudevant p. 510 c. 2). — Mrs. Sydons was the greatest *actor* of her age. Note here the difference between saying: Mrs. S. was the greatest *actress*, and saying: the greatest *actor* of her age. The latter form amounts to the assertion that she was the greatest genius among actors and actresses on the stage (Nichol, Engl. Comp.). — The two dead lions (in this passage = a lion and a lioness, She p. 47, c. 1).

c) The indefinite and relative pronouns.

All the kings servants . . . do know that *whosoever*, whether *man* or *woman*, shall come into the king into the inner court, who is not called, there is one law for *him* . . . that *he* be put to death (Esther 4. 11). — *Who-so* dop wel, *he* is of God (Paues, Ebv. 44. 11). — *Who that* doth the will of God, *he* is my brother and my sister and modir (Wycliffe in Sp. II. 222. 35). — When *every one* to rest themselves betake (Sh. Lucr. 125 [2, himself betakes] quoted from Schmidt). — God send every one *their* heart's desire (Shak. Ado. III. 4). — *Every* of this happy number . . . according to the measure of *their* states (Shak. As. V. 4). — *Who-ever* (: bridegroom and bride) wins first to yon haw-tree, Shall do even as *they* may (Bell Scott in Poets 186).

4. Words not indicating living beings but lifeless things and abstract nouns, like *table*, *book*, *courage*, *kindness*, are neuter i. e. denote absence of sex. They are spoken of by *it*, *its*.

5. Finally there are some nouns which may be used with regard to living beings or lifeless things. Such words are e. g. *thing*, *being*, *creature*. They may be said to be of doubtful gender. According to the case they are spoken of by *he* — *his*, *she* — *her* or *it* — *its*.

The mechanical distinction of grammatical gender cannot be kept up except by a system of inflection and concord: the dropping of inflections unavoidably means loss of the distinctions of gender. Though even OE. began to develop itself in an analytic direction, it had in many respects preserved the synthetic structure which characterises Latin, Greek and the Teutonic languages in their older stages. The declension of the OE. nouns, adjectives and pronouns offer distinct characteristics for the different genders. The demonstrative pronoun *se*, *seo*, *þæt*, which early obtained the function of definite article with its three forms for the three genders in the singular offered to the speaker a sure means of retaining in the memory the grammatical gender of the noun, when it diverged from the natural gender.

OE., however, was in a rapid process of change and the above-mentioned distinctions gradually went out of use. The Norman Conquest marks the approximate period after which a new stage in the English language sets in which is characterised by the following changes:

1. the confusion between masculine and feminine endings and the dropping of suffixes indicating gender which change consisted in the fuller and more sonorous vowels *a*, *o*, *u* being levelled and sinking down to *e*.

2. loss of case inflections in the masculine and the feminine forms of demonstratives and the definite article.

These alterations, however, did not go on uniformly over the whole domain of English: traces of grammatical gender were preserved longer in some dialects (Körner, Beiträge, p. 35).

When these important changes had taken place, the period of full endings existed no longer and the period of levelled endings had set in. From this period in English, when there was no more any grammatical concord between the preceding article, pronoun, adjective and the noun qualified by them, most outward signs in the nouns for marking the grammatical gender is missing, so that it gradually disappeared. The natural gender, which is now prevalent in English, took the place of the grammatical gender.

I. Different words for the masculine and the feminine.

1. Human beings.

Old English.

A) Masculine are:

man, mon; beorn: rinc; secg; freca: dreng; wer; ceorl; hyse; hyse-rinc; guma (compounds: *gum-dryhten, gum-frea; gum-mann, gum-rinc; gum-þegen*); *mecg; hæle, hæleþ; frea; leod; cyning; hlaford; dryhten; þengel; þeoden; brego; eorl; wisa; sceale; cniht; cnapa; cnafa; þegen; fæder; sweor; broðor; fædera; eam; tacor; sunu; suhteriga; eafora; mæg; broðorsunu.*

B) Feminine are:

hlæfdige, fæmne, ides; bryd; cwen; cwene; fostor-modor, fostorsweostor, meowle, mæget; modor, dohtor, modd-rige, sweostor; nunne: wæs on ðam sylfan mynstre sum halig nunne (Beda 4.23 quoted from Bos-Toll).

C) Neuter are: *wif* and *mæghen*.

It should be noted here, however, that the natural sex forced its way very early. Though the nouns in question take the neuter of the definite article, they are in the following part of the sentence referred to by a feminine pronoun: *wæs sona gearu wif swa hire weoruda*

helm beboden hafde: Elene 223; — me sæde ðæt wif hire wordum selfa: Cædmon's Metr. Paraphr. Genesis in Bos-Toll 2648; — hit sealde ðam mædene and ðæt mæden hit sealde hire meder: Gospel St. Mark quoted from Bos-Toll.

Middle English.

A) Masculine are:

man; *gume*, *gome*; *beorn*, *biorn*; *rink*; *heled*, *wer*, *drihten*; *kening*; *lord*; *eorl*; *knave*; *knight*; *schalk*; *fader*; *sune*, *sone*; *brother*; *eam*; *nevew*, borrowed from Fr. *neveu* supplanting the genuine ME. *neve*, (quoted from Kl.-L.); *neve* (OE. *nefa*); *uncle*, *oncle* (Fr. *oncle*, Kl.-L.); *hus-bonde*; *boie* (OE. **boia*, Kl.-L.): *þe boye* hit scholde abugge; Horn *þreu* him over *þe brigge*: King H in Sp. I. p. 271 l. 1087; *male* (Fr. *mâle*, Kl.-L.); *sune*, *sone*: Ch. C. T. E. 679 she kiste hir *sone* and after gon it blesse; *hyne*: ther nas baillif ne herde ne other *hyne* that he ne knew: Ch. Prol. of C. T. 603; both man and womman, child and *hyne* and page: Ch. Pard. Tale 688; *hewe*: O servant traitour false hoonly *hewe*: Ch. C. T. E. 1785; *swayn*: him boes serve himselve that has na *swayn*; *bachelor* (OFr. *bachelor*, Kl.-L.): his *sone* a lusty bachelor: Ch. Prol. 80; *squire*: his *sone* a yong squyer: Ch. Prol. 79; *harlot* (OFr. *harlot*, Kl.-L.): he was a gentil harlot: Ch. C. T. A. 647; he was unhardy that harlot: Piers Ploug. 11584; *ladde* (fr. Ir. *lath*, Kl.-L.).

B) Feminine are:

moder; *doughter*; *sister*, *suster*; *bride*; *maide*; *widwe*; *quene* (OE. *cwene*, Kl.-L.), *quen* (OE. *cwen*, Kl.-L.); *lady*, *lafdi*, *lafdig*; *amboht*; *aunte* (OFr. *ante*, Kl.-L.); *nece* (OFr. *nièce*, Kl.-L.), which supplants *nevene*; *hagge*; *deye*: Ch. Nonne Pr. Tale 4036; *femele*: to know a *femele* from a male: Ch. Wom. of Bath's prol. 122; *gossib*: with my *gossib* God have hir soule: Ch. Wom. of Bath's prol.

529; *ancille*: from his *ancille* he made thee *maistresse*: Ch. Minor Poems I. 109; *damesele*, *damisele* (OFr. *dami-sele*, *dameisele*, Kl.-L.): she was transformed from a *fayr damysele*: Maund. 23; *dame* (Fr. *dame*, Kl.-L.): Ch. C. 684; Ch. D. 1797; *virgine* (OFr. *virgine*); *lasse*.

New English.

A) Masculine are:

man (compounds: *gentleman*, *nobleman* etc.); *male*; *father* (*godfather*, *grandfather* etc.); *husband*; *son*; *boy*; *infant*: Shak. Henry V. 3. 3 your fresh fair virgins and your flowering infants; *youth*: She p. 115, c. 2 out of the press . . there sprang a dark-haired youth and put his arm about this girl; *uncle*; *nephew*; *bachelor* (cf. page 66); *bridegroom*; *king*; *squire*; *lord*; *monk*; *papa*; *wizard*; *lad*; *sir*.

B) Feminine are:

woman; *female*; *mother* (*godmother*, *grandmother*); *wife*; *daughter*; *girl*; *child* (cf. page 64): Shak. Wint. 3. 3: Mercy on's, a barne! A boy or a child, I wonder? — *virgin* (cf. above *infant*); *aunt*; *niece*; *maid*; *bride*; *queen*; *damsel*: Shak. Love's L. 1. 2: for this damsel, I must keep her at the park; *lady*; *nun*; *mamma*; *witch*; *lass*; *madam*; *dam*, mother (Shak. Wint. T. 2. 3. 94 in NED.).

2. Animals.

The nouns belonging here are few in number. The English language like the other related languages does not often express difference in sex in point of animals by means of two separate nouns. In fact, distinctions of this kind occur only in the case of domestic animals and some others that stand in near relation to man. In most cases the language gets along with a general term (f. i. OE. *olfend*, NE. *elephant*); and when sex is emphasized, this takes place by means of qualifying words. It is to

be noted that besides the separate names, which occur for the male and the female of certain species, sometimes a separate general term is found too, which is used when the animal is referred to without regard to sex. This is for instance the case with the species *Equus caballus*, for which besides the sex-distinguishing *stallion* — *mare* is found the general term *horse*. But in some cases, no special noun of this kind occurs, and then the name of the male or more frequently of the female is used by extension as the general term. Thus *goat*, *goose*, *dog* are used sometimes without reference to sex (the dog is a faithful animal). It should be noted here that it in many cases is very difficult to make out whether the noun is used with regard to sex or as a class-noun.

Old English.

A) Masculine are:

steda; *hengest*; *fearr*; *bulluca*; *steor*; *oxa*; **ramm*; *wetter*; *bucca*; *hæfer*; *buc*; *bar*; *cofor*, *bearg*, *bearh*; *heorot*, *heort*; *dogga*; *hana*; *coc*, *cocc*.

B) Feminine are:

mere, *myte*; *cu*; *heahfore*; *eowu*; *sugu*; *hind*; *ra*, *raha*; *bicce*; *hen*; *beo*, *dran*: eall ðæt ða beon dragen toward ða dran dragaþ fraward (Sax. chron. in Bos-Toll).

Middle English.

A) Masculine are:

hengest: Ich beteche þe anne hængest godna & strongna: Lay. 3546—7 A.

hors: your hors goth to the fen with wilde mares as fast as he may go: Chaucer C. T. A. 4080. — whan the hors was loos, he ginneth gon toward the fen, ther wilde mares renne: id. c. 4064.

corsour (OFr. corsier, Kl.-L.): horses . . . and courseres thei ben mad: Wycl. Jerem. 5. 8 A. — a cowrssor: Cath. Angl. quoted in NED.

stalloun (OFr. estalon Kl.-L.): thei ben mad horsis and stalouns: Wycliff, Jerem. 5. 8 B.

bule (ON. bole, Kl.-L.): anes bule hude: Lay. A. 14187; B.: a bule hude. -- forr bule . . drifepp apre nowwt himm fra halit himm all forr laferrd: Orrm. 1296—9. — o Jove eek, for the love of faire Europe, the whiche in forme of bole away thou fette: Ch. Troil. Cris. III. 722 --723. — Ther ne was cow ne cow-kynde . . . that wolde belwe after boles, ne boor after sowe: Piers Pl. 7254—9.

ster: whyte alaunts twenty and mo as grete as any steer: Ch. C. T. A. 2149.

ox: the ox is the moste holy best. For he dothe good and he dothe non-evylle: Maund. 165.

bukke: patt bucc . . barr wiþp himm þe follkess sake and sinne: Orrm. 1424—27. — And ye speke of the bucke the fyrst yere he is a fowne: 1486 Bk St. Albans quoted in NED. — hertez and hindez, bukk and da: Maund. in NED.

ramm, wether: wether: he (Aaron) offred it and hedde the blood of it: Wycliffe, Levit. 8. 8 A.; B.: ram: he offrede it. — 1 Kings 17. 34 A. a wether; B. a ram.

hert: Ho-so slow hert oper hinde: Rob. Glouc. in Sp. II. p. 14 l. 389. — so komes þer a werwolf after a gret hert and chased him: Will. Palerne in Sp. II. p. 145 l. 214. — many an hart and many an hinde was both before [and behinde me: Ch. Book. Duch. 427, 428. — hertez and hindez: Maund. 23. 105 in NED. — Ther saugh I Attheon an hert y-maked: Ch. C. T. A. 2065.

bor: Brutus was abolge also þe wilde bor wane hundes him bistonlep: Lay. B. 1696. — the wylde male swyne ben callyd boores: 1398 Trevisa in NED.

fole: a fole, sone of the she asse: 1382 Wycliff, Zech. 9.9 in NED.

dogge: in the few examples of *dogge* I have found in ME. this word (like *hund*) is used as a generic name. But as *dogge* in early NE. is used to distinguish sex, it is probable that it could do so in ME. as well: after him they ran; ran Colle our *dogge* (male dog?): Ch. C. T. B. 4571—73.

stagg: a mâle deer.

cok: the cok that orloge is of thorpes lyte: Ch. Parl. Foul. 350. — the cok, upon a tree he fleigh anon: Ch. C. T. B. 4606—7. — in this niȝt bifore the cok crowe: Wycl. Matt. 26.34.

drake: than shaltow swimme as myrie . . as doth the whyte doke after hir drake: Ch. C. T. A. 3574—5.

gander: to gandre and to gos: Bestiary in NED.

B) Feminine are:

mere: seems to have been the current name for the female of the horse (e. g. Maund. 253, Chaucer, C. T. A. 4064, 4080), whereas there were different names for the male (cf. above p. 10, 11).

cu: the current name for the female of the bull: ther ne was cow ne cowkynde that wolde belwe after boles: Piers Pl. 7254—9. — whether thilke is a cow: Wycliff, Levit. 22.28 B. (A. shee oxe).

haifer: hehfere, beeste . . . juvenca: c. 1440 Promp. Parv. in NED.

gote: *gote* (correlative *bukke*, *gote-bukke*) means in ME. female goat like OE. *gat* (correlative *bucca*, *gatbucca*). But as no separate class-noun for *bukke* and *gote* exist in ME., *gote* (in opposition to *mere*, *cu*) is used too, when no reference is made to sex. Thus, when sex is emphasized and the meaning of the simple *bukke* — *gote* would not be clear from the context, a

composition is resorted to: Wycliff, Genesis 15.9 A.: a she gehet of thre ȝeer; Genesis 30.35 B.: geetbuckis. *bicche*.

ewe: ewe lambren: Wycliff, Genesis 21.28 B. Both the male and the female sex are often expressed by means of composition: Wycl. Levit. 22.28 A.: shee sheep; Levit. 3.6 A.: if . . of sheep were the offeryng of hym whether maal or femaal (B.: *scheep*: a male ether a female).

hinde: þa milk wæs of are wite hinde: Lay. 1184 A. — the hynde in the feld bar and lafte hir frutes: Wycl. Jerem. 14.5 A.

do: Sone he met a barayn da, And ful sone he gan hir sla: Yw. a. Gawain 2027, quoted in Ausbüttel, p. 112. — bukk and da: c. 1400 Maund. in NED.

ro: a female deer.

suwe, sowe: yet saugh I . . the sowe freten the child right in the cradel: Ch. C. T. A. 2017—19.

hen: he gaf nat of that text a pulled hen: Ch. C. T. A. 177. — a cok and hen: Ch. C. T. B. 4629. — as a henne gedrith togidre hir chickenys: Wycl. A. Matt. 23.17.

douke: thou shaltow swimme as myrie as doth the whyte doke after hir drake: Ch. C. T. A. 3574—5.

gos: to gandre and to gos: 1220 Bestiary in NED. But *gos* is also used as a general name for the genus *anser*.

be: wommen: as bisy as bees ben they: Ch. C. T. E. 2422.

New English.

A) Masculines:

male; stallion; steer, bull, ox; dog (the *dogge* is thought better than the *bitche*: 1577 Googe in NED. — 3 dogs and a *bitch*: 1768 Washington in NED.); *ram; wether; buck; stag; hart, colt, foal; boar; cock, drake,*

drone; gander; milter (a male fish in breeding time (Walton ed. 1653 in Cent. D.: for the purpose of breeding he had put in [a pond] three milters for one spawner).

sire: a sandy colte: neyther lyke syre nor damme: 1523 Fitzherb in NED.

B) **Feminines:**

female; mare; cow, heifer; bitch; ewe; goat; doe; hind; roe; filly; sow; hen; duck; bee; goose; spawner (the female of fish, correlated with milter [there the spawner casts her eggs and the melter hovers over her: Walton in Cent. D.]).

dam (a female parent of animals).

II. The gender is marked by difference of termination.

1. German endings (suffixes).

A) *-a* (masc.), *-e* (fem).

Old English.

In OE. there were a great many words ending in *-a* which denoted a person or agent (*nomina agentis*). Such are e. g. *cuma* (a person who comes), *wilcuma* (a welcome person), *nihsta* (neighbour), *bana*, *bona* (murderer), *wifer-saca*, *wifer-winna*, *swica* (traitor), *wyrhta* (worker), but these words may have been used with regard to the masculine or feminine gender. But a few nouns occur which present two forms, one ending in *-a* for the masculine and the other in *-e* for the feminine.

Masculine:

webba (weaver)
wicca (wizard)
þeowa (servant)
widuwa (widower)
maga (relative, son, man)
gelica (equal)
husbonða
gingra (disciple)
pawa, *pea* (pea-cock)

Feminine:

(freoðu-)*webbe* (female weaver)
wicce (witch)
þeowe
widuwe
mage (kinswoman)
gelice
husbonde
gingre (female servant)
pawe (pea-hen)

Middle English.

The levelling of the fuller end-vowels (-a, -o, -u) to the weak *-e* begins very early in English: in fact, since the 11th century, the weakening off of the fuller vowels goes on. Accordingly, the distinction between the masculine and the feminine endings could not be kept up any more. Some of the words above-mentioned gradually disappeared and the ideas conveyed by them had to be expressed by means of other words. In point of *webba*, *webbe*, the old stem was preserved and the difference in sex was denoted by means of the suffixes *-ere* m., *-estre* f. which was to play a great part in ME.

Wicca, *wicce* fell together in one word, ME. *wicce* of common gender: Somme saide he was a wicche: Piers Pl. 18 in Bos-Toll. Cf. further for this idea ME. *wisard* (OFr. **wischard*, *guischard*: Kl.-L.).

ME. *widwe* (Kl.-L.) is restricted to the feminine gender: Piers Pl. 5503 (*wodewe*); by means of ME. derivative *-er(e)* a new masculine is formed: *widwer* (Piers Pl. in Skeat, Etym. dict.).

ME. *þeow* (OE. *þeow*): *þatt mann iss wiss þe deofless þeow*: Orrm. 6266. — *an defless þeow þatt Arrius wass nemmedd*: Orrm. 7454. — *þenne moste he libben þeou æ pisse londi*: Lay. A. 29389—90.

OE. *husbonða*, *husbonde* result in ME. *husbonde* (Stratm.): Lay. A. 31958, where *husbonde* already has *wif* as correlative: *of æuerelche huse þat husbonde wunede & his biweddede wif weore on þere ilke wike*.

OE. *pea*, *pawa*, *pawe* (Kl.-L.), persist in the ME form *pe*; when sex is emphasized, *pe-cock*, *pe-henne* are used (Piers Pl. 7956, 7949 *pecok*; 7909 *pecok* — *pehen*; 7911—7923).

The ideas expressed by OE. *maga* m., *mage* f. were in ME. conveyed by ME. *mæi*, *maʒ* (OE. *mæg*, *mag* Stratm.-Br.) and *mæʒe*, *maʒe* (OE. *mæge*, *mage* Str.-Br.).

— **Masc.:** þa ihurde Cunedagius that Morgan is mæi ferde þus: Lay. A. 3833. — þurh þe haued Morgan mi mæi is mōschipe afallet: Lay. A. 3838. — **Fem.:** þa luuede he a maide þeo was Lauine mawe: Lay. A. 257. — þo louede he a mayde þat was Lauines moʒe: Lay. B. 257. — Howeles dohter hæh mon of Brutene Ardures maʒe: Lay. A. 25897. — hire meʒhe Elysabæp: Orrm. 3178; Marʒe wass patt illke kingess meghe: 3569. — Ne bie þe leuere þan þe self ne þi mæi ne þi mowe: Moral Ode B. in Sp. I. p. 197. — . . . þi mey ne þi mowe: Moral Ode A. in Sp. I. p. 197. — Nolde hit moʒe don for mai ne suster [for] broðer: Moral Ode B. in Sp. I. p. 207.

B. The feminine forms were derived from the masculine ones.

Old English.

Masculine:

meaŕh

wulf

hana

raha, ra (roebuck)

Feminine:

mere, myre

(brim-) *wylf* (she-wolf)

hen

ræge (roe)

Middle English.

Meaŕh disappeared and the idea conveyed by it was expressed by a French loan-word *stalloun* (OFr. *estalon*) and *hors*; its correlative survived into ME. and NE. as ME. *mere*. *Wylf*, which seems not to have been much used (Bos-Toll only gives one instance where it occurs) ceased to exist, and ME. *wolf* became used as a general name. When sex was emphasized, it had to be expressed by means of composition. In point of the domestic fowl, *hana* went out of use and was supplanted

by OE. *coc*, *cocc*, ME. *cock*, whereas *hen* persisted as name for the female. *Ræge* disappeared in ME. *Raha*, *ra* persisted in ME. as *ro*, which however expressed feminine gender, when sex was referred to. Otherwise *ro* as well as NE. *roe* is frequently used as a general name. The male of the deer was called *ro-buk*.

C. Some feminines are formed by means of the derivation *-en*. This suffix is found in several of the Indo-Europæan languages, cf. Germ. *Säng-er* — *Sängerin*, *Fuchs* — *Füchsin*; Fr. *héroïne*, Lat. *regina*.

Old English.

Masculine:	Feminine:
<i>ælf</i>	<i>-ælfen</i> , <i>-elfen</i> (wudu-, munt-; only in comp. words, Bos-Toll)
<i>casere</i> (emperor)	<i>casern</i>
<i>god</i>	<i>gyden</i> , <i>gydene</i>
<i>munuc</i>	<i>mynecenu</i>
<i>nefa</i>	<i>nefene</i>
<i>þeow</i>	<i>þeowen</i> , <i>þiwen[n]e</i> , <i>þeowene</i>
I habbe þeowas and þeowena = servos et ancillas: Gen. 32.5 in Bos-Toll.	
<i>scealc</i>	<i>scilcen(n)</i>
<i>assa</i>	<i>assen</i>
Ags. Gosp. Matt. 21.2 in Bos-Toll: Sona finde gyt ane assene and hyre folan mid hyre. — Matt. 21.5 in Bos-Toll: Rit uppan tamre assene.	
<i>fox</i>	<i>fyxen</i>
<i>wearg</i>	(grund-) <i>wyrgen</i> (Grendel's mother)
<i>wulf</i>	<i>wylfen(n)</i>

Middle English.

Many of these correlatives disappeared either at the end of the OE. period or during the course of the ME. period. Only two correlatives survived into the ME. and NE. period: *fox* -- *fixen* (the *fixene* fox: Halliwell quoted in Str.-Br.). *Gyden* disappeared and gave place to a fresh formation in *-ess(e)*: *goddess*. *Casere* -- *casern* disappeared and were supplanted by two French loanwords: *emperour* -- *emperesse* earlier form *emperice* (OFr. *emperice*, Kl.-L.). *Aelfen* went out of use, the masc. form persisted as ME. *elf*. *Wylfen(n)* was discarded, but occurs still in Hauelock leoun or wlf, wluine or bere (Sp. I. p. 230, l. 573). ME. *wolf* was kept as the general name. When sex was emphasized, the language resorted to composition. OE. *Nefa* -- *nefene* were early superseded by French loanwords ME. *neveu* -- *nece* (OFr. *neveu* -- *nièce*). Chaucer has *newew* -- *nece* (Legend 1440 *newew*, C. T. B. 1296 *nece*).

Mynechene is still used in Lay. alternately with ME. *nonne* (in the 8th cent. adopted from Lat. *nonna*): Lay. A. B. 15651, 15672 A. *nunne*, B. *nonne*. — Lay. A. 28476: and heo wes per munechene; B. 15643 *munechene*.

peow, *scealc* with their feminine correlatives disappeared in course of the ME. period. ME. had many ways to express the ideas conveyed by them, f. i. Wycl. Genes. 12. 16 B.: *seruauntis* -- *seruauntessis*. — Deuter. 12. 12 A.: *men seruantis* and *wymmen seruantis*; B. *seruauntis* and *seruauntessis*.

Assa resulted in the ME. form *asse* of common gender (*assene* disappeared). Difference in sex was expressed by means of composition (Wycl. Genesis 12. 16 A. *he assis* -- *she assis*; B. *assis* -- *sche assis*).

New English.

Only one word *vixen* (*v* instead of *f* due to Kentish influence, Kl.-L.) has survived into NE.: I knew that Vixen (here nomen proprium and name of a fox-terrier) had found me at last. She knew that: Jungle 241 n. — Vixen cocked her ear where she sat: Jungle 247.

D. The feminine suffix *-istre*, *-estre*. This suffix was already in OE. used in great extension for nouns of action. Whereas the above-mentioned suffixes in *-a*, *-e*, *-en(e)* seem to have been confined to a comparatively small number of words and moreover (as far as *-a*, *-e* are concerned) in consequence of the confusion of the fuller end-vowels above referred to became insufficient to indicate gender, OE. *-istre*, *-estre* could persist as a distinct means of denoting femininity. There are a great many words in OE. ending in *-istre*, *-estre*, which generally correspond to masculine correlatives in *-ere*.

Old English.

Masculine:	Feminine:
<i>bæcere</i> (baker)	<i>bæcestre</i>
<i>fīðelere</i> (fiddler)	<i>fīðelestre</i>
<i>forliger</i> , <i>forligr</i> (adulterer)	<i>forlegystre</i> (harlot)
<i>hleapere</i> (leaper, dancer)	<i>hleapestre</i> (dancer)
<i>hearpere</i> (harper)	<i>hearpestre</i>
	<i>bepæcestre</i> (she wo deceives, harlot)
<i>hoppere</i> (saltator)	<i>hoppestre</i>
(<i>horing</i> , adulterer)	<i>miltestre</i> (harlot)
<i>hunta</i> (hunter)	<i>huntigestre</i> (huntress)
	<i>crencestre</i> (spinster, textrix)

<i>lareow</i> (instructor)	<i>lærestre</i> (instructress)
<i>mangere</i> (merchant)	(Smeoru-) <i>mangestre</i> (butter- woman)
<i>rædere</i> (reader)	<i>rædestre</i>
<i>sangere</i> (singer, poet)	<i>sangestre</i> (songstress)
<i>seamere</i> (tailor)	<i>seamestre</i> (sempstress)
<i>webba</i> (weaver)	<i>webbestre</i>
<i>tæppere</i> (tavern-keeper)	<i>tæppestre</i>
<i>þingere</i> (advocate)	<i>þingestre</i>
	<i>cynnestre</i> (mother)
<i>wregere</i> (accuser)	<i>wregestre</i>

Some of these forms in *-estre*, however, were already in OE. applied to male beings. This is the case, for instance with *bæcestre*, which clearly means *pistor* in the following passage: *ða gelamþ hit ðæt twegen afyrde men agylton wid heora hlaford, Egypta cynges byrde and his bæc-istre: Genes. 40. 1 (Bos-Toll); bæc ystra ealdor = pistorum magister: Gen. 40. 10 (Bos-Toll). (Because afyrde men performed that work which was originally done by females, this occupation is denoted by a feminine termination: Bos-Toll.)*

As is seen above, the masculine correlative in *-ere* is missing, as in *webbestre*, *crencestre*. For *webbestre*, the masculine form is supplied by a noun of the same stem: *webba*. As regards *crencestre*, no such substantive seems to have existed.

On the other side, many words ending in *-ere* seem not to have adopted a feminine form in *-estre*. Such are f. i. *swealgere* (glutton), *teonere* (slanderer), *predicere* (preacher), *plihtere* (look-out man), *frihtere* (soothsayer), *fuglere* (bird-catcher), *folgere* (follower). *cwellere* (killer), *cunnere* (tempter), *brytnere* (steward), *ehtere* (persecutor), *tollere* (toll-taker). For many of these agent-nouns, the occupation or trade indicated may of course have been

restricted to male persons, but a feminine derivative in *-estre* might have been expected for *frihtere*, *teonere*, *creopere* etc.

Middle English.

-estre continued to keep its original function of indicating feminine gender and was the general means of expressing femininity in nomina actionis up to about the 13th century. A certain fluctuation, however, had, as we have seen above, reigned already in the later part of Old English, at least in point of certain words. From the moment the Norman-French suffix *-ess(e)* became more generally used as the common way of denoting feminine gender (when it was first adopted by the English language, its use was restricted to some words: *abbesse*, *cuntesse*, *princess*, *duchess*, which had been adopted from OFr.), the original function of *-estre* gradually fell in oblivion, though we find it used in its primary function as late as the 15th century (cf. below, Caxton). This wavering and inconsistency, which is distinctly shown by the vocabularies (*spinner* and *spinster* are in Howell's Vocabulary of 1659 masculine, *spinstress* feminine) brings it about that one is continually at a loss to make out if a word points to male or female sex, whenever the context is not sufficiently clear to obviate mistakes.

Layamon does not offer a single instance of words in *-ster* with feminine sense. In Ormulum we find only one instance, v. 15817: *te33 turrndenn Godess hus inntill huccsterress bope*, where *huccsterr* probably is masculine.

In Chaucer occur following words in *-ester*:

chydester, fem.: *men moste enquire . . wher she be wys . . or proud or elles other-weys a shrewe*, a *chydester* (C. T. E. 1535).

tombestere, *fruytestere* fem.(?): than comen tombest-
eres fetys and smale and yonge fruytesteres, singers
with harpes bandes, wafereres (C. T. C. 477 ff.).

timbestere fem.(?): ther was many a timbestere and
saylours that . . couthe hir craft ful parfitly (Rom. Rose
769—771).

tappestere, fem.: he knew . . everich hostiler and tap-
pestere bet than a lazar or a beggestere (Prolog C. T.
242). — nas brewhous ne taverne that he ne visited with
his solas ther any gaylard tappestere (fem.?) was (C.
T. A. 3334—3336).

beggestere, fem. (cf. example above: Prolog C. T. 242).

In Langland's Piers Pl. we find:

I seigh in this assemblee, as ye shal here after:
baksteres and *brewesteres*, wollen *webbesters* and weveres of
lynnen, taillours and tynkers and tollers (432—439). The
forms in *-ester* are probably feminine.

To punyssh on pillories and pyninge-stooles *bre-
westers* and *baksters*, bochiers and cokes, for thise are
men . . that moost harm wercheth . . . (1512—1517). —
Wite God! quod a *wafrestere*, wiste I this for sothe, sholde
I nevere ferther a foot (3772—3774). In the last two
passages *-ster* probably points to masculine gender.

The confusion and fluctuation with regard to the
function of the termination *-ster* manifests itself strikingly
in the Wycliffite versions of the Bible. Whereas A. and
B. regularly use the Norman-French suffix *-esse*, the ms.
I. preserves the original forms in *-stere*.

Jerem. 21. 13 (cf. Koch § 81): A. to the dwelleresse
of the sadde valey (I. *dwelstere*).

Tobit. 3. 9: A. thou sleeress of thi men; B. of thin
hosebondis (I. *sleestere*).

Ecclesiasticus 9. 4: A. with a leperesse or tumbler be
thou not besy; B. with a daunseresse (I. *daunstere*. Note

here a German suffix affixed to a Romance stem, which will occur frequently later).

Jerem. 9. 17; plures: *weileressis* (I. *weilsteris*; A. *weilende wymmen*).

I Esdras 2. 65: A. *singeres* and *singeressis*; B. *syng-eris* and *syngeressis* (I. *syngsteres*).

II. Kings 19. 35: (A. *men syngers* and *wymmen syngers*); B. *syngeris*, *syngsters*.

Wisdom 8. 4: B. it is the *techeresse* of the *lernyng* of God and *cheseresse* of hise *werkis* (I. *chesister*).

II. Esdras 7. 67: A. *singeres* and *singressis*; B. *syng-eris* and *syngeressis* (I. *syngsteres*).

Sometimes even A. and B. offer instances where *-ster* is used: *yunge wymmen tympanystris* (Psalms 67. 26 A.), and which show that the suffix *-ystre* does not indicate feminine gender.

Job 7. 6: (A. *my daȝes swiftliere passiden* than of the *weuere* the *web* is *kut* of); B. *my daies passiden swiftliere thanne* a *web* is *hit* down of a *webstere*.

II. Kings 21. 10:

I. Paralip. 20. 5:

A. *beem* of *websters*.

A. the *beme* of *websters*.

(B. *beem* of *webbis*).

(B. the *beem* of *webbis*).

I. Kings 17. 7 (quoted by Koch § 81): A. the *shaft* of his *speer* was as the *beem* of *websters*; B. the *beem* of *webbis* (I. *websters*).

But in spite of this tendency in the language to supplant the ending *-ster* as a feminine suffix and to make the Norman-French suffix *-ess(e)*, which, in fact, played an important part in English since the 13th century, adopt its function, still a good number of words in *-ster* are found with feminine meaning late in the 15th century. Caxton in his dialogues presents a great number, all of them denoting females following a

certain trade. The subjoined OF. translation excludes all doubt as to the gender of the words.

Caxton, Dialogues, p. 32:

Katherin the *kempster* (Katherine la pigneresse).

Cecyle the *spinster* (Cecile la fyleresse).

p. 33:

Clarisse the *nopster* can well her craft (Clarisse la esbourysse).

p. 45:

Roberte the *heklester* . . hath lost her hekell (Roberte la cerenceresse).

p. 2:

sheremen, *kempsters*, *spynsters* (tondeurs. pigneresses, fleresses).

In Nominale of the 15th century (quoted in Latham's dictionary, art. *bakster*) we find following nouns in *-ster* with feminine sense, being translations of Latin words in *-trix*:

Hec *pectrix* — a *kempster*.

„ *textrix* — a *webster*.

„ *seutrix* — a *sewster*.

„ *pistrix* — a *baxter*.

Under heading *brewster* (in Latham's dictionary) we find the confusion strikingly illustrated: «Hic pandoxator . . Anglice brewster» (Nomina artificium, cap. VI). A few columns below, under the heading: Nomina Artificium Mulierum: »hec pandoxatrix . . a brewster».

Huckster (quoted from NED.): 1475 Pict. Voc.: hec aucionatrix . . a hoxter. — Wr-Wülker: hec auxiatrix . . a huxter. — 1440 Promp. Parv.: hwkstare . . auxio-nator, *-trix*.

When the suffix *-ster* was felt no longer to mark the feminine gender, some fresh feminine nouns were formed by the addition of the Roman-French derivative *-ess*

to the English *-ster*, as *bakstr-ess* (cf. page 39). Such forms are, from an etymological point of view, double feminines with a second feminine element superadded to the primary one, the true power of which had become obsolete.

New English.

Of all the ME. words ending in *-ster* only one has survived into NE. with feminine meaning: *spinster*. Originally meaning only spinning woman (Shak. Twelfth N. II. 4 the spinsters and the knitters in the sun and the free maids that weave their thread with bones) it has later become the legal term for an unmarried woman: a spinster lady (Graphic 17. 1. 03 p. 74 c. 3); that tall lady of forty-five is a spinster (Marryat in Herr. p. 454 c. 2); I publish the banns of marriage between — bachelor and — spinster (B. of C. Prayer).

But apart from this one word the words in *-ster* which are preserved in NE. ceased to be restricted to the feminine gender and could be used alike of males and females (cf. the words in *-ere* page 27). While some words like *huckster*, *tapster*, *youngster* denoted simple agency or existence, in others the suffix *-ster* marks the agent with a sense of contempt and depreciation (as *punster*, *rhymster*, *trickster*, *gamester*). It should be noted that of the former class not many words occur in English, most of them belong to the dialects, chiefly the Scottish.

1) *-ster* denoting simple agency or existence

Beaum. and Fletcher quoted in Cent. D.: a forlorn *tapster* or some frothy fellow that stinks of stale beer. — I'm tapster at the Commonwealth (Marryat, Children, p. 136). — I am ill at reckoning . . it fitteth the spirit of a tapster (Shak. Love's L. L. I. 2). — though the treacherous tapster Thomas hangs a new angel two doors from us (Swift, Stella's birth-day, Latham's dict.).

Sir Blount in NED.: our London *drugsters*. — the *hackster* that was sent to kill M. (1610 Holland in NED.). — John a *throwster* dwelling i' the Spital Fields (Middletton and Rowley, Cent. D.).

drumster = a drummer: Ensign Bearers and Sergeants with a fit *drumster* (1586 in Stow's Surv. quoted by NED.). — *drumster* or player on the drum (1617 Minsken in NED.).

Fell Mars the *seedster* of debate (Sylvester, quoted by Cent. D.). — of excellent use was he (Trim) as valet cook, *seedster* . . . and nurse (Sterne, Tristr. Shandy in Cent. D.).

But in Ben Jonson, Masque of Chr. (quoted by Cent. D.) *sempster* and *songster* are feminine: [Enter] Wassel like a neat *sempster* and *songster*; her page bearing a brown bowl drest with ribands.

2) *-ster* marking the agent with a sense of contempt:

A man may think that a *gamester* seeth . . . more than a looker-on (Bacon in Herr. p. 73. c. 1 o.). — every puny *whipster* gets my sword (Shak. Othello, V. 2). — Harvey in Cent. D.: railing was the ypocras of the drunken *rhymester*. — Vanity Fair in Latham's dict.: not that my pretty lady he said: you silly little *fibster*. — Kingsley in NED.: you wicked old *fibster*.

Some of the primary nouns with the suffix *-ster* survive as surnames: *Baxter* and *Webster*.

In the great majority of cases, the properly masculine form in *-ere* was extended to be used with feminine sense, where no ambiguity could take place — that is when the context was clear enough to point out which gender was meant: And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries and to be cooks and to be *bakers* (Holy Bible, I. Samuel 8. 13). Cf. Wycliffe, I. Kings 8. 13 B, where already a word in *-eri* is used with regard to females:

Also he schal make youre dou3tris makeris of oyne-mentis . . and fueris and bakeris.

There are even a few words ending in *-er*, which at least in NE. are used exclusively with feminine sense. Such are *housekeeper* (woman who manages or superintends the affairs of a household esp. the woman in control of the female servants of the household; quoted from NED.). — 1607 Shak. Cor. I. 3. 55 in NED.: you are manifest housekeepers. — call the old housekeeper and get her to fill a place (1724 Swift, Stella's birthday in NED.). — my eldest daughter is a capital housekeeper (1859 Dickens quoted by NED.).

dressmaker: woman who makes dresses for those of her own sex (NED.). — 1832 Dickens Nich. Nich. X. in NED.: the situation I have made interest to procure . . . is with a Milliner and Dressmaker.

milliner: formerly a man who dealt in articles for women's wear . . .; now, in common usage a woman who makes and sells bonnets and other head-gear for women (quoted from Cent. D.).

2. Latin-Romance suffixes.

Late Latin had from Greek adopted some feminine formations in *-issa* (e. g. *prophetissa*, *diaconissa*, *abbatissa*) together with the correlative masculine nouns (*abbatem*, *abbatissam*). Many derivatives of this kind were later introduced into O. French, where the suffix soon became the common means of expressing the feminine gender.

Abbatissa in its late Latin and early Rom. pronunciation *abbadissa* was introduced into OE. at or soon after the conversion: *abbadysse* (masc. correl. *abbod*, *abbot*: Sax. Chron. p. 13 l. 106): seo *abbadis*se (Alfred's Bede in ags. read. p. 48. l. 68). Afterwards it was assimilated to the

litterary L. spelling as *abbatisse*. In the 12th or 13th century the French *abbesse* (cf. below) was introduced, but the earlier form continued to exist beside it as *abbatesse*, *abbotess* till 1600. *Abbadisse* is the only word in which the suffix *-isse* is found before the Norman Conquest.

In OFr. the suffix *-esse* had become (cf. above) the usual means of forming derivatives to indicate female sex. *Abbatissam* had after due phonetical evolutions resulted in OF. *abbesse*. On the analogy of this word several others had been formed as *cuntesse*, *duchesse*, *princesse*. When the Norman intruders came to England, they brought with them the new social institutions which bore witness to their higher culture and education; and at the same time the new terms for these ideas were adopted by the English language. Thus we find in ME. at a rather early epoch such words as: *cuntesse*, *abbesse* (Rob. Glouc. in Sp. II. p. 11, l. 301—302), *duchesse*, *princesse*. When once the suffix *-esse* had been introduced into English, it was to play an important part as a means of indicating feminine gender and soon was affixed as feminine derivative to words of Teutonic origin as well. This suffix completely supplanted the primary English suffixes in *-en* and *-estre*, and in fact is now the only native mode of forming a feminine derivative still in use, when a suffix is needed and the language does not resort to the current way of expressing femininity, i. e. by means of composition according to the general tendency of English.

pe kinges dohter pe hefde ben Emperice in A. nu wæs *cuntesse* in A. (Sax. Chron. in Sp. I. p. 13, l. 120—121). — Cecily het pat on, pe eldoste, þat was at Cam nonne and *abbesse*. — Constance . . was of Brutayne *contesse* (Rob. Glouc. in Sp. II. p. 11, l. 300—302).

With regard to the extension of the use of *-esse* during the different epochs of English it may be noted

that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries its use was confined chiefly to the words which had been adopted from French (Gloucester etc.). Later on, in the fourteenth century (Wycliff, Chaucer, Maundeville), it began to alternate with the suffix *-ster*, which, however, was preserved much longer in some dialects, until in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it supplanted *-ster* in its original function and remained the only living mode of denoting feminine gender by means of derivatives. Especially in the Elizabethan period (Spenser, Chapman, Beaumont and Fletcher) *-esse* was a suffix of frequent occurrence. But in course of time *-esse* gave way to other methods of expressing femininity, viz. by means of composition (cf. page 46). Many of the words in *-ess(e)*, formerly in use came to be confined to the poetical or elevated style. Some are obsolete and occur only now and then in historical use (nonce-words). The feminine is formed from the masculine in different ways:

1. A) In words not ending in *-er*, *-or* the suffix *-esse* is added to the simple masculine. If a final *e* is at the end of the masculine, it is dropped:

baroness (baron, m.): bothe erlys and barnesse and ladyes clere: 1420 Chron. Vilod. in NED.; — any duchess, marquess, countess, viscountess or baroness: Act 21 Henr. VIII in NED.

cousiness (cousin, m.): Elisabeth thi cosyness: Wycliff, Luke 1. 36 A.; (B.: thi cosyn; plures: cosyne); — per-for curteise cosyne, for love of Crist in heuene, hithe thi kindenes: Will. Palerne 625.

In NE. *cousiness* is still found sometimes as a nonce-word; that it is wanted (though the language might express the same idea by means of composition, cf. *girl-cousin*, *lady-cousin*, *female cousin*), and that English cannot easily do without this and similar formations in *-esse*, is clear from following example: He had the bad taste not

to care for his cousinnesses, if I may coin a word which is much wanted: 1889 F. Pigot, Strangest Journal in NED.

constablesse (constable, m.): Chaucer C. T. B. 539; — the constabless Colonna: 1832 Soc. life in NED.

disciplesse (disciple, m.): sum disciplisse: Wycliff, Deeds 9. 36 A.; a disciplesse B.; (disciple X.); — she was recommended to a disciplesse of the said lady: 1611 Speed, Hist. Brit. in NED.

frendess (friend, m.): my sister, my frendesse, my culuer, my spousesse: Wycliff, Song of Sol. 5. 2 B.; (leef I.); — my frendesse, thou art fair: l. c. 1. 14 B.; (my leef A.).

NE. has not preserved this derivative.

guardianess (guardian, m.): gardinesse: 1614 Beaumont and Fletcher in NED.; — guardianess: 1891 Mitford in NED.

goddess (god, m.): I mene not the goddesse Diana: Ch. C. T. A. 2063; Maund. 23 etc.

heiress (heir, m.); the feminine form in *-ess* is not used by Shakespeare (Schmidt, Shakspeare-Lexikon).

herdess: Ch. Troil. and Cr. I. 653; generally *shepherdess* (shepherd, m.).

heroess (hero, m.): all th' heroesses: 1615 Chapman, Odyss. in NED.

hostess (host, m.): ostesse: Ch. Boeth. B. IV. Metre 3. 23.

Jewess (Jew, m.): Drusille pe welche was a Iewes: Paues, Ebv. 189. 24; Wycliff, Deeds 24. 24.

landgravess (cf. landgravine page 42, landgrave, m.): Busching's Syst. Geog. quoted from NED.

papess (pape, m.): a bust of the papess (Ency. Brit. XIII. p. 695, c. 2); — their monstrous papess: Bishop Hall quoted by Cent. D.

poetess (poet, m.): Spenser, Teares, p. 413, c. 2; Graphic 17. 1. 03, p. 74, c. 1.

princesse (prince, m.).

prophetess (prophet, m.): anne was a prophetesse: Wycliff, Luke 2. 36; — prophetesse: l. c. Judges 4. 4 A.

servantess (servant, m): seruauntis and seruaunt-
essis: Wycliff, Genesis 12. 16 B.; (A. seruauntis and
meynis). — Wycliff, Genesis 25. 12; 29. 29; 16. 25 etc.

spousess (spouse, m.): spouse, spousesse: Wycliff,
Isaiah 61. 10 B.; (husbonde, wif A.); — the spouse or hus-
bonde and the spousesse or wijf: Wycliff, Mattheus
25. 1 A.; — my spousesse: Wycliff, Song of Sol. 4. 8 B.;
(my spouse A.); — my sister spousesse: Wycliff, l. c.
4. 9 B.; (my spuse A.)

sultaness (cf. page 43 sultana; sultan, m.).

A few nouns of animals ending in *-ess* occur:

dragoness (dragon, m.): dragonesse: 1634 Chap-
man, Hymn to Apollo in NED.

eagless (eagle, m.): aiglesse: Cotgrave in NED.

griffiness (griffin, m.): 1840 Lytton, Pilgrim's Rhine
in NED.

leopardess (leopard, m.).

lioness (lion, m.): a wilde leonesse: Ch. Legend
861; — liones: Wycliff, Numbers 23. 24 A.; lionesse,
lioun B.; — lioness: Numbers 23. 24; 24. 9 in Holy
Bible; Eliot, Mill 196.

Some irregular formations:

clergess (female scholar; cleric, m.): the clerke and the
clergesse: 1393 Gower, Conf. in NED.; — abbesses,
prioresses, nonnes of the order of seint Clare begghyns,
clergesses: Caxton, Dialogues, p. 24.

coloness (colonel, m.). Either Short for *coloneless* or
an error for it. Cf. Fr. *colonelle*, female colonel or colo-
nel's wife (quoted from NED.): the wife of Colonel Motta

... commanded as a coloness amongst the women: 1667 Lond. Gaz. in NED.

duchess, ME. *düchesse*, short for *düchesse*, Fr. *duchesse* (Kl.-L.) (duke, m. ME. *düke* from Fr. *duc* [Kl.-L.]): Ariadne of Athenys *duchesse*: 1385 Ch. Legend G. Women 2122 in NED.

tyraness (tyrant, m. ME. *tiraunt*, with excrescent *t*, fr. OFr. *tiran*, quoted from Kl.-L.).

B) There are in English many agent-nouns (originally denoting a masculine agent) ending in *-er*, *-or* (*-our*), some of them being native English words, some of them going back to original French words in *-eor*, *-ier*. Many of these words earlier formed feminine derivatives in *-ster*. Instances of this are furnished in abundance by the Wycliffite Versions of the Holy Bible, where I. offers the formes in *-ster*, whereas A. and B. have forms in *-esse* (cf. page 23). Later on, in the 15th century derivatives in *-ess(e)* gradually supplanted the earlier English feminine nomina agentis in *-ster*. The feminine meaning which originally was attached to words in *-ster* fell into oblivion.

a) *-ess(e)* is appended to the full masculine form ending in *-er*, *-or*, *-our*:

authoress (author, m.): the greatest authoress in the world's history: Ency. Brit. VII. p. 507, c. 2.

bakeress (baker, m.): the baker, the bakeress: 1837 Carlyle in NED.

breweress (brewer, m.): the countess had employed a breweress at B.: 1841 Botfield in NED.

cateress (cater, m., caterer occurs too): this dame the cateress hired me: Burton, quoted from NED.

charmeress (charmer, m.): phitonesses, charmeresses, olde wicches, sorceresses: Ch. Home of F. 1261.

chideress (chider, m.): another is a chideresse: Ch. Rom. of Rose 4266; — an angry wight, a chideresse: l. c. 150.

danceress (dancer, m.): Be thou not customable with a daunseresse: Wycliff, Eccles. 9. 4 B.; A. a leperesse or tumbler; (I. daunstere). Cf. page 43 danseuse.

dwelleress (dweller, m.): to the dwelleresse of the sadde valey: Wycliff, Jerem. 21. 13 A. and B.; (I. dwelstere).

enquerouresse (OFr. enquireour; enquerour, m.): Art thou meyresse? or a newe enquerouresse: 1430 Pilgr. Lyf Manh. in NED.

forgeress (forger, m., forgerer occurs too): dame justice the forgeresse: 1430 Pilgr. Lyf Man. in NED.

governeress, cf. page 38 governess (governor, m.): governeresse of hevene: Ch. A. B. C. I. 141; — she was maister ouer him & governeresse: 1490 Caxton in NED.

manageress (manager, m.): manageress of servants' registry: Tit-Bits 2. 7. 92, p. 1; — she is housekeeper, pantry-maid and cook, servant and manageress in one: Fortn. Rev. in Cent. D.

mayoress (mayor, m.): the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress: Graphic 17. 1. 03, p. 75.

neighboress, neighbouress (neighbor, neighbour, m.): a womman schal axe of hir neiþboresse and of hir hoosteesse: Wycliff, Exod. 3. 22 B.; A. hir neiþbore and hir gest; — that every one may teache her neyghbour-esse: Bible of 1551, Jerem. 9. 20 (Cent. D.).

prioress (prior, m.): my lady prioresse: Ch. C. T. B. 1637.

quakeress (quaker, m.): Miss D. was a quakeress: Times 16. 1. 03, p. 43, c. 1.

sinneress (sinner, m.): and lo! a womman synner-esse: Wycliff, Luke 7. 37 A.; (B. a synful womman;

plures: sinner); — she is a synneresse: l. c. 7. 39 A.; (B. she is a synful womman; plures: synner.)

singeress (singer, m.): I made to me singeris and singeressis: Wycliff, Eccles. 2. 8 A.; B. syngeris and syngeressis; (I. syngsters). Further: Il. Parall. 35. 25, I. Esdr. 2. 65.

slayeress (slayer, m.): thou sleeresse of thi men: Wycliff, Tobit. 3. 9 A.; B. sleeresse; (I. sleestere; H. quellere).

soldieress (soldier, m.): soldieress that . . canst poise sternness with pity: Beaumont and Fl. in Cent. D.

teacheress (teacher, m.): the techeresse it is of the discipline of God and the cheresse of the werkis of hym: Wycliff, Wisd. 8. 4 A.; B. techeresse.

warrior (warrior, m.): Spenser F. Q. V. vii. 27 in Cent. D.

weaveress (weaver, m.): he found two looms in the hands of an ancient weaver and weaveress: Blunt, Hist. of Dursley in Cent. D.

waileress (wailer, m.): weileressis: Wycliff, Jerem. 9. 17, plures; (I. weilsteris; A. weilende wymmen; B. wymmen that weilen).

b) Of the masculine ending (-er, -or) -e, -o is dropped before the addition of -ess.

actress (actor, m.): 1. female doer: a principal lady of the Island, who was proved to be an actress or accomplice in the assassinate: 1670 Lond. Gaz. in NED. [Mod.: the female prisoner appears to have been the chief actor in the tragical scene: NED.] — 2. a female player on the stage (actor was at first used for both sexes): Behind the scene where actresses make bold with married men: Dryden in NED.

architectress (architector, m.): Queen Thyra . . architectress of the Dannevirke: Marryat in NED.

ambassadress (ambassador, m.): the lady obtained as a guaranteed *ambassadress* of a foreign power: Ency. Brit., XXII, p. 440, c. 1.

buildress (builder, m.): Dido the first *buildresse* of C.: 1566 Sanford in NED.; — tragedianesses, sonneteeressis or other *buildresses* of the lofty rhyme: 1822 Blackwd Mag. in NED.

conductress (conductor, m.): Be my *conductress*: 1624 Ford in NED.; — lady Augusta's attendant and *conductress*: Edgeworth in NED.

dictatress (dictator, m.): Albion Earth's chief *dictatress*: Byron quoted from Behnsch.

directress (director, m.): *directresse* of my destinie: Sidney, Arcadia in NED.; — she is a *directress* of institutions: Thackeray, Bk. Snobs in NED.

doctress (*doctoress* occurs too) (doctor, m.): Who being a *doctresse* scorn'd not to be a disciple: 1635 Stafford in NED.; — the women take upon them to be great *doctresses*: 1577 Googe, quoted from NED.; — his wife, the *doctress* of the neighb'ring poor: Blomfield in NED.

editress (editor, m.): the assistant *Editress*: Hch. p. 287.

eldress (elder, m.): a female elder, a woman ordained to rule in a church (NED.).

fornicatress (fornicator, m.): See you the *fornicatress* be remov'd: Shak. Measure, 2. 2.

foundress (founder, m.): the *foundress* of the Romantic movement: Ency. Brit., XXII, p. 441, c. 2; — *foundress* of the institution Mrs. T.: Times 16. 1. 03, p. 43.

huntress (hunter, m.): She (Artemis) was an intrepid *huntress*: Ency. Brit., II, p. 643, c. 2.

laundress (launder, m.): the *laundresse*: 1550 Co-verd. in NED.; — a Dutchwoman employed as a laun-

dress: Macaulay in NED.; — his wife is a good laundress: Hch. p. 254; — the prison laundresses are women of sturdy build: Npm. p. 620.

lepress (leper, m.): yf the mother be a lepresse: 1541 Copland in NED.; — than ought ye to enquire yf he hath had y^e company of any lepresse woman: Ibid.

interpretress (interpreter, m.): interpretress of the will and conscience of the people of England: Kingsley in NED.

liberatress (liberator, m.): He had run over to Laura his liberatress: 1849 Thackeray, Pendennis in NED.

tigress (tiger, m.), etc.

On account of the great number of instances where *-tress*, *-dress* occur as ending syllable in feminine derivatives, to popular apprehension *-ress* has erroneously appeared as the feminine suffix and *r* has in some cases been added as an excrescent consonant before the suffix *-ess*.

poetress (poet, m.): Most peerless poetress the true Pandora of all heavenly graces: Spenser in Cent. D.

mulattress (mulatto, m.): a negress or mulattress: Cent. D., art. Wench.

hermitress: 1611 Cotgrave: Hermitresse, an hermitresse; a woman hermite. — He allows Hazlitt unrelentingly to parade such words as hermitress: 1823 Blackw. Mag. in NED.

hostress: Wycliff, Exod. 3.22 plures: hoostresse (B.: hir neigboresse and her hoosteesse).

neatress (neatherd, m.): Warner, Albions England in Cent. D.

c) The masculine ending *-er*, *-or* is dropped before adding *-ess(e)*.

adventuress (adventurer, m.): the handsome adventureress: Bulwer, Td. p. 257.

governess (governor, m.): made her maystresse and gouuernessee: Caxton in NED.; — abbottes, priours, abbesses, prioresses, and other ecclesiastical gouernors and gouernesses: Act. 31 Henr. VIII in NED.; — Hildred chose as her chaperone Miss R. the governess of Sir W.: Eves, p. 23; — a daily governess for his younger children: Eliot, Mill, p. 471.

interpretess (interpreter, m.): the fair interpretess: Payn, Tales, p. 210; — the Greek lady was my interpretess (later edition: interpretress): 1717 Lady Montagu in NED.

murderess (murderer, m.).

sorceress (sorcerer, m.): olde wicches, sorceresses: Ch. House of F. 1262; — Medea a famous sorceress: Brewer, p. 627, c. 2.

procuress (procurer, m.): for fear Philosophy should be procuress to the Lords of Hell: Tennyson in Cent. D.; etc.

d) In some words (ending in *-stress*) we have double feminine suffixes. When the suffix *-ster* was felt no longer to mark gender (in the 15th and 16th cent.), whereas *-esse* had adopted this function since many centuries, fresh feminines were formed by the addition of this suffix *-ess* to the English *-ster*.

These hybrid forms are rather rare and occur only as nonce-words:

backstress, female baker: a baker or backstres muste be well ware: 1519 Norman Vulg. in NED.

huckstress, *-steress*: 1611 Cotgrave in NED.: regratiere, an hucksteresse. — the immemorial lady reduced now to be the hucksteress of a cent-shop: 1851 Hawthorne.

sempstress: any woman be she prima donna or be she sempstress: Eves, p. 29.

spinstress, a woman who spins: the good Grecian

spinstress (Penelope) was of old: Tom Brown in Cent. D.

tapstress: Beere, doe you not? You are some *tapstresse*: Heywood in Cent. D.

Since the 15th century, or from the epoch when *-ester* gave up its original function of denoting femininity and instead marked the agent with a sense of contempt and depreciation, *-ess(e)* is the only native feminine suffix. During the following two centuries it gained a great extension and most English nouns were susceptible of expressing a feminine idea by means of a derivative in *-esse*. And feminine derivatives were used, as we have seen above, not only in cases where they were indispensable for the intelligibility of the sense but also when the context was clear enough to exclude ambiguity. The latter case we find especially in ME. and older NE. and is due to influence from the Latin language: *philosophia magistra vitæ, natura rerum creatrix*. Cf. the Wycliffite Versions of the Holy Bible which being founded on the Vulgate offer many instances of it: *Clepe thou prudence thi frendesse*: Prov. 7. 4 (Versio Vulg.: *prudentiam voca amicam tuam*). But if we except a few correlatives generally denoting dignities, such as *count* — *countess*, *abbot* — *abbess*, *duke* — *duchess*, *emperor* — *empress*, which are always used to express the idea conveyed by them, most of the derivatives of *-esse* have not come into general use. Some of these formations have disappeared entirely or if they sometimes occur, they have an ephemeral existence as nonce-words in the literary language. That, however, the language sometimes resorts to such words instead of expressing the idea by means of a periphrasis, is clear from the following passage: he had the bad taste not to care for his cousinesses, if I may coin a word

which is much wanted (1889 Pigot in NED.). *-ess*, however (in opposition to *-ster*) still preserves its original character of denoting femininity, whenever it is used.

In other cases, the feminine derivative in *-ess(e)* is used only with a special meaning as e. g. *actress*, a woman who acts on the stage, whereas a «female doer» is expressed by means of the common *actor*, of course qualified by an composition, when the intelligibility of the phrase requires it.

2. The Latin feminine suffix *-ix* (*-or*, m.) has been preserved in some words, generally legal terms; it is due to their technical use that the Latin form has been retained rather than the formations in *-ess* and *-ice*.

accusatrix (accusator, *-tour*, m.): Isabel the accusatrix: 1655 Jennings's Elise in NED.

admonitrix (admonitor, m.): our admonitrix was her Serene Highness herself: 1860 Hunt in NED.

adjutrix (adjutor, m.).

creditrix (creditor, m.): creanciere; a creditrix, the woman that trusteth: 1611 Cotgrave in NED.

directrix (director, m.): Reason is the directrix of human acts: 1892 Rickaby in NED.

executrix (executor, m.): appointing his wife S. sole executrix of his will: 1827 Powell in NED.

impostrix (impostor, m.): some suspected her for an imposter: 1700 Hickes in NED.

inheritrix (inheritor, m.): no female should be inheritrix in Salique land: Shak. Henry V. 1.2.

liberatrix (liberator, m.): the liberatrix of France: 1893 Leisure Hour in NED.

mediatrix (mediator, m.).

testatrix (testator, m.): Signed by the testator [or testatrix] as the case may be in the joint presence of

us who thereupon signed our names in his or her and each other's presence: Whitaker's Almanack, p. 409, c. 2.
victrix (victor, m.).

3. Besides the Latin suffixes in *-ix*, the English language has many words ending in the feminine suffix *-ice*. These words are generally adopted from Italian or French. The masculine correlatives end in *-tor* or *-teur*.

adjutrice (adjutor, m.): Fortune the adjutrice of good purposes: 1609 Holland in NED.

cantatrice (cantator, m.): a female professional singer: NED.

creditrice (creditor, m.): if [you buy] for ready money, make creditrice the stocke and debitrice the shoppe: 1588 Mellis in NED.

directrice (director, m.): where Vertue is not directrice: 1631 Brathwait in NED.; — the directrice or governess who is a woman of quality: 1730 Burt in NED.

conductrice (conductor, m.): Saynt Mary as fartherer and conductrice of this werke: 1494 Fabyan in NED.

doctrice (doctor, m.): þi grace . . . is doctrice of discipline: 1450 De imitatione in NED.

executrice (executor, m.): But, Fortune executrice of wierdes: Chaucer, Troilus Book III, l. 617.

improvisatrice (improvisator, m.): poetess or improvisatrice: Prout, Colomba, p. 22.

liberatrice (liberator, m.): Beneficent liberatrice: 1820 Scott, Monast. in NED.

litteratrice (littérateur, m.): a literary woman, an authoress; — in an inland city where dwells a *littératrice* of note: 18 . . Holmes in NED.

repetitrice (répétiteur, m.): lady professor and teachers, répétitrices: Athenæum 10. 1. 03, p. 1, c. 3.

voceratrice: Prout, Colomba, p. 52.

4. *-ine*, suffix representing Fr. *-ine*, Lat. *-ina*, serves to form some feminine nouns:

heroine (hero, m.), cf. *heroess*; with this word have fallen together the German *landgravine*, *margravine* and *palgravine* (palgrave, m., etc.).

5. *-ina* is a feminine Romance derivative not found in many loan-words:

ballerina, female dancer, ballet-girl: a row among our ballerinas: 1815 Byron in NED.

tsarina (tsar, m.), generally *tsaritsa* (cf. page 44).

6. Romance *-a* is a feminine suffix which occurs in some loan-words:

duenna: Ursula the duenna: Brewer, art. Leander, p. 544, c. 1; Irving, *Alhambra*, p. 124.

infanta (infante, m. in Spanish).

primadonna: Graphic 17. 1. 03, p. 89, c. 2 and frequently.

signora (signor, m.).

sultana (sultan, m.): Irving, *Alhambra*, p. 160; (cf. *sultaness*, page 32).

7. *-ere* is a feminine suffix going back to OFr. *-ier*, m., *-ière*, fem.

lavender, laundress (OFr. *lavandier* m., *-iere* f., NED.): Enuye . . is lavender in the grete court: Chaucer, Legend 358; — ladies faire with their gentilwomen chamberers also and lauenders: 1470 Harding in NED.

chamberer, chamber-maid: Agar his chamberere: Maund. 102; — to my chamberere with -inne my bour: Ch. C. T. D. 300; — never digne . . to be your wyf, ne your chamberere: Ch. C. T. E. 819.

In NE. are found sometimes: *lavender* (registered by Muret-Sanders) which has kept its sense and gender, and

chamberer which has adopted masculine sense; *chamberer*: a man conversant with the acts of peace opposed to a soldier (Schmidt, Shak.): have not those soft parts of conversation that chamberers have: Shak. Othello, III. 3. 265.

In current English a great many words (chiefly technical terms) are adopted from foreign languages, esp. from Romance languages. Such terms are generally introduced by newspapers, periodicals, and by these intermediaries they find their way to the rest of the literature. Though many of them are of rather an ephemeral nature and disappear soon after they have appeared; some of them are naturalised in the English language and are duly registered by NED. Owing to the vicinity and the high degree of culture of France with reference to art and science, most of these loan-words are of French origin.

8. In French there are many words ending in the suffix *-eur* for the masculine, *-euse* for the feminine. The English has borrowed some feminine nouns in *-euse*.

accoucheuse, mid-wife: Mdme. Siebold the *accoucheuse* here mentioned: 1867 Pall Mall G.

danseuse (as masc. correlative the English *dancer* is used): Ships, p. 118, 124, 128 and often in Graphic.

masseuse: women resort to the skill of the *masseuse*: Graphic 28. 2. 03, p. 274, c. 3.

ouvreuse: a strike of *ouvreuses* or box-openers: Graphic 24. 1. 03, p. 122, c. 1; nonce-word.

9. Some feminines ending in *-e*:

cosine, *cousine*, fem. (*cosin*, *cousin*, m.): so that after the righte line the cousin weddeth the *cousine*: Gower III. p. 278 in Mätzner's alt. wört.; — a curteyse cosyne Crist mot þe it gelde: Will. Palerne, p. 602 in Mätzner's

alt. wört.; — Vor Edmundes sone Yrenside pat hys on
broper was hadde ywedded hys cosyne: Rob. Gloucester,
p. 330.

fiancée (fiancé, m.): Louis XV and his first fiancée:
Graphic 14. 2. 03, p. 218.

protégée (protégé, m.): he is a protégé of Lord B.:
Marryat, Cutters, p. 16; — the prince D. makes love
to their protégée: Graphic 21. 2. 03, p. 262.

amante (amant, m. perhaps not used as masculine
correlative in English; generally love, sweetheart, beloved
etc.): the ci-devant amante of Lord B.: Bulwer, Td.
p. 257.

confidante (confidant, m.): she talked about . . those
(complaints) of her confidante: Snobs, p. 154.

débutante (débutant, m.): a débutante or a young
married lady: Graphic 17. 1. 03, p. 92, c. 3; further l. c.
31. 1. 03, p. 139, c. 1.

gouvernante; NED.: Anglic. form of *gouvernante*;
1) female governor, 2) mistress of a household, 3) female
teacher.

comédienne (comedian, m.): a comedy actress.

tragédienne (tragedian, m.): Graphic 14. 2. 03, p.
228, c. 1.

belle (beau, m. Beau Brummel, Muret-Sanders, Ency.
Engl.-Germ. dictionary); the belle of the ball: l. c.

3. Russian suffixes.

Femin. suffixes: *-itsa*, *-evna*.

tsaritsa (tsar, m.): the tsar and the tsaritsa: Gra-
phic 31. 1. 03, p. 1.

tsarevna (tsarevitch, m.): Cent. D.

III. Sex is expressed by means of composition.

The number of correlatives which expressed difference in sex by means of two separate words, one for the male and the other for the female, was not very great in English. In fact, with regard to human beings, they were restricted to nouns denoting the general ideas: *man* — *woman*, *boy* — *girl* with the great number of synonyms which occur in the poetical language and to nouns denoting different degrees of relationship. With reference to animals, the two sexes male and female were denoted by means of two separate nouns only in case of the domestic animals and animals standing in near relation to man, when the natural sex is conspicuous. But the great majority of words, for instance *cild*, *freond*, *gat*, *olfend*, can be used according to the case, either of a male or a female when the context is sufficiently clear to admit of conclusions as to which sex is meant in the present instance. When sex is emphasized, however, the language resorts to the two ways of indicating it, either by means of suffixes or composition.

As we have seen, however, the endings characteristic of masculine or feminine gender (*-a*, *-e*, *-en*) were soon worn away or confused by phonetical decay. *-ess(e)* too, which played an important part as a means of ex-

pressing feminine gender in ME., began in the NE. period to be restricted in its use and in many cases gave way to composition in accordance with the early conspicuous analytic character of English. Whereas in NE. composition as a means of denoting sex is made extensive use of and is steadily increasing in proportion as expressions denoting female agent-nouns are needed (women nowadays adopting trades, possessions and occupations which were formerly reserved for the male sex), in older stages of English composition was restricted to some nouns denoting common ideas, for instance *cild*, *barn*, *man* (human being), *freond*, *þegn*, *esne* (cf. Koch § 84)¹). These nouns, which when they occurred in the text without any adjunct or qualifying word pointing to a special sex were used without regard to sex, were made to denote either of the two sexes, male or female, by means of a qualifying term. Generally it is a word of common gender that is qualified that way: *child*, male *child*, female *child*. Rarely a masculine noun: *king* (*she-king*) or a female noun: *midwife* (*man* — *midwife*). It should be noted that "by these complementary words only the meaning, sense is affected; the grammatical gender of the compound is determined by the later element of the composition" (Koch § 84). The qualifying word may be a substantive, adjective or pronoun.

A. Human beings.

a) The qualifying word is a **substantive**.

- 1) **Male** sex is expressed by means of *hyse*, *carl*, *knave*, *cniht* in Early English, in New English by *man*, *boy*.
- 2) Words of common gender are restricted to **female** sex by *wif*, *mægden*, later by means of *woman*, *maid*, *girl*, *lady*, *virgin*.

¹) Not *catt*, *fugol*, as Koch says; cf. page 57 *carl*.

1. Male sex.

hyse: Eft þonne þa wif heorn bearn cendon, þonne feddon hie þa mædencild, and slogon þa hysecild: Alfred's translation of Oros. in Ags. Reader p. 25. 45. — ælc hysecild: Genes. 17. 10 in Bos-Toll.

cniht: wæs in ðæm ilcan mynstre cneohtcild sum: Bede's Eccles. hist. VIII. 1. — cniht-bærn: Layamon A. 15526 (cnaue-child: Lay. B.); — kniȝt-child: Altengl. Legenden in Str.-Br.

knave: knaue-barn: Cursor M. 2668 in Str.-Br. — knave-child: Lay. B. 15526; — on hir he gat a knave-child: Ch. C. T. B. 715; — a knaue-child she bee; Mauricius they him calle: l. c. 722; — an ȝif thei have ony knaue-child, thei kepen it a certeyn tyme and thanne senden it to the Fadir, whan he can gon allone . . . or else thei sleen it [and ȝif it be a femele]: Maund. 154; — she was delyuered of a fayre knave-childe: c. 1440 Gest. Rom. in NED.; — Here knave-gerlys I xal stehe: 1450 Cov. Myst. in NED.; — A womman þat hadde y-boren a chyld, ȝef it were a knafe-chylde: Paues Ebv. 17. 15; — þo knave-childe schulde not life: Paues Ebv. 139. 19; — þei slowen ech knauechild: Wycliff. I. Maccab. 5. 51 B.; (A. eche male); — if it is a knavechild sle ȝe him: Wycliff. Exod. 1. 16 B.; (A. maal — femaal); þu scald bere knauechild: OE. Homilies, p. 77 in Mätzner; — þey slow ȝ alle þe knauechildren: Trevisa I. 153 in Mätzner, Alt. wört.

cnapechild: þatt teȝ þe cnapechild hiss shapp him ummbeshæpenn: Orrm. 4220—4221; — cnapechild: Orrm. 7895.

carl: þa namen hi þa men . . carl-men and wim-men: Sax. chron. in Sp. I, p. 10, l. 20; — gif hwile carlman hæmde wið wimman hire undances: Sax. chron. in Kluge, p. 69, l. 177.

All the above-mentioned nouns serving to denote sex in composition ceased to be used and are replaced by *man* and *boy*.

man: *man-esne*: Bed. 4.13 quoted by Koch; — my *seruantes* (bope men and wymmen): Paues, Ebv. p. 126, l. 18; — XXX *men-children* and XXX *wymen children*: Dialogue in Wülker, alt. les. II. p. 173; — I gat me *men singers* and *women singers*: Holy B., Eccl. 2.8; — if a woman conceive seed and bear a *man-child*: Levit. 12.2 in Holy B.; — *man-midwife*¹⁾: Nothing will serve you but to carry off the *man-midwife*: 1759 Tristr. Shandy in NED. (art. accoucheur).

boy: the haire of *yong boy-children*: 1601 Holland in NED.; — *baby-boy*: Graphic 27. 6. 03, p. 880. — NED. quotes: *boy-angel*, *boy-baby*, *boy-child*, *boy-cousin* without giving any examples.

2. Female sex.

wif: *seo wifman*: Judges 4.91 in Bos-Toll; — gif hwyle *wif hire wifman swingd* and heo purh ða swingle wyrd dead: Ecgberti Poenitentiale quoted from Bos-Toll; — God geworhte ðæt ribb to anum *wifmen*: Gen. 2.22 in Bos-Toll; — Minutia hatte an *wifmon*, seo hæfde gehaten ðæt heo wolde: Orosius 3.6 in Bos-Toll; — þa *wifmon* was biwedded & Leonin heo hæfde to his bedde: Lay. 11182; — feier wes þe *wimmon* & *wunsum hire monnen*: Lay. 152; — þeo *wimon* was mid childe: Lay. 266; — hit iword þere þat þeos yunge *wiman* iwerd hire mid childe: Lay. 259 A.; — he funde enne faire *wimman*. heo wes wit, heo wes wis: Lay. 9599;

¹⁾ This example is striking as the noun to which *man* is appositively prefixed is here not as usual a noun of common gender, but a female noun.

— gif it be foul for a womman to ben y-dodded . . wrye heo hure hed: Paues, Ebv. 64. 6; — þe womman ne hap no power of hure owne body: Paues, Ebv. 62. 4; — wif-cild: wæpnedbeorn — wifcild: Beda in Bos-Toll (cf. art. wæpned-beorn); — cowherdewif (cow-herde, m.): William of Pal. p. 76 in Wülker, alt. les.

Wif early gives up this function and is replaced by *woman, lady, girl*.

maid: gif hit hysecild byþ ofsleap ðæt, gif hit si mædencild healdap ðæt: Exodus 1. 16 in Bos-Toll; — þonne feddon hie þa mædencild: Alfrd. Oros. p. 25 in Ags. read.; — maidechild: Lay. 14378 A.; — mæidechild: Lay. 24529 A.; — ma;ddennchild: Orrm. 4222, 7897; — þe ma;ddennchild . . : Orrm. 4098; — A maydechild cam in hir companye: Ch. C. T. B. 1285; — the maydynchild . . aske we the wil of hir: Wycliff. Genes. 24. 57 A.; (B. damysele); — the maydenchildren: Wycliff. Exod. 2. 17 A.; (B. the dameselis); — 3ef it were a mayde-chyld þat were y-boren: Paues, Ebv. p. 17. 18; — a maid-child call'd Marina: Shak. Pericl. V. 3. 6; — if she bear a maid-child: Levit. 12. 5 in Holy B.; — maid-servant: beside their menservants and their maidservants: Ezra 2. 65; Nehem. 7. 67 in Holy B.

woman. This word is used appositively with the sense female as early as Wycliff. It is prefixed to designations of employment, office, function, which are ordinarily applied to men, as in friend, singer, student, doctor. With this English use may be compared the French way of attributing feminine gender to a word of common gender by putting *femme* before it: successivement nous avons eu la doctoresse, l'avocate, la femme-témoin et même la femme-professeur au M. (L'Illustration 28. 3. 03, p. 199) and further la femme-avocat, la femme-médecin (l. c. 7. 3. 03). In ME. it alternates with *maid* in this

function (cf. above), which, however, later gives place (it is kept only in some stereotyped expressions) to *woman*, *lady* (by far the most used as appositive prefix) and *girl*. Wycliff offers examples where the word to which *woman* is prefixed ends in a female suffix *-ester*, *-esse*. — 3unge wymmen tympanystris: Wycliff. Psalms 67. 26 A.; — a womman synneresse (the femininity is expressed twice): Wycliff. Luke 7. 37 A.; (plures: synner); — a womman strompet: Wycliff. Judges 16. 1 A.; 11. 1 A.; — men seruauntis and wymmen seruauntis: Wycliff. Deuter. 12. 12 A.; — wymmen nei3bours: Wycliff. Ruth 4. 17 A.; — woman-wight: Spenser, F. Q. quoted in Fiedler-Sachs, p. 136; — the Alruna the prophet-woman: Hypatia II. 47 (cf. prophetess p. 32); — our women friends: Graphic 7. 3. 03, p. 315 (cf. frendess p. 31, which is not used after Wycliff); — a woman warrior in M.: Graphic 28. 11. 03, p. 728; — women writers: Review, august 1891, p. 179; — woman-seer: Eves, p. 30; — women workers: Graphic 24. 1. 03, p. 132, c. 3; — women coalheavers: Wide W. Mag. dec. 1898, p. 368; — woman students; — Miss Hilda H. the only woman wrangler: Graphic 27. 6. 03, p. 866; — the board of women managers is appointed by: Review, August 1891, p. 139; — no women instructors: Review, October 1891, p. 381; — women workers: Review l. c., p. 387; — America had not as yet produced any first class woman writer, like G. Eliot: Review, Novembre 1891, p. 498; — the new Hospital for women, where all the staff are women doctors: l. c., p. 496, c. 2 (cf. doctress p. 36); — beggarwomen: Brewer, Henneberg; — fisherwoman; — bakerwoman; — washerwoman: Review, October 1891, p. 381.

lady (compare what is said above of *woman*): the two ladies ambassadors: 1577—87 Holinsh. Chr. in NED. (cf. ambassadress, p. 36); — lady-tyrant: 1684

Otway, Atheist in NED. (cf. tyranesse p. 33); — lady-actors: 1687 Waller in NED.; — lady-criticks: 1694 Congreve in NED.; — lady-singer: 1775 Mad. d'Arblay in NED.; — She has her doubts about lady helps: Review, august 1891, p. 179; — his own lady-love, a priestess of S.: Brewer, Leander; — lady-visitor: Hall I. 115; Eliot, Mill, p. 341; — lady bull-fighters of Barcelona: Wide W. Mag., June 1899, p. 241; — An English lady violinist: Graphic 14. 3. 03, p. 358, c. 3; — Distinguished lady artists: Graphic 14. 2. 03, p. 223, c. 1; — Lady Superintendent, Miss Alice C.: Whitaker's Alm. p. 288; — lady principal: l. c. p. 278; — all lady delegates: Times 16. 1. 03, p. 39, c. 3; — an indiscreet lady-missionary: Graphic 24. 1. 03, p. 126; — lady-callers: Eliot, Mill, p. 379; — lady-purchasers: l. c. p. 400; — lady Professors, lady Teachers, lady Housekeepers: Athenæum 10. 1. 03, p. 1, c. 3; — lady fencer: Graphic 14. 11. 03, p. 654; — lady lecturer: why should lady lecturers be less well paid than male lecturers: l. c. 14. 11. 03, p. 654; — lady clerk: Tb. 3. 9. 92, p. 388; — lady reader, lady assistant: l. c.; — lady typewriter: Npm. p. 594; — lady passenger: Graphic 25. 10. 02, p. 546; — P. the lady patroness at the Spa: Brewer, Penfeather, p. 747, c. 2.

girl: girl pilgrims: Graphic 25. 10. 02, p. 548; — girl watercarriers: Family Friend, p. 41; — The girl clerk or typewriter: Review, august 1891, p. 179; — A German servant-girl: Graphic 24. 1. 03, p. 124; — Girl mutes: She. p. 106, c. 1; p. 87, c. 2; — the girl graduate: Review, October 1891, p. 381.

NED. quotes following compositions prefixed with *girl*: girl-child, girl-friend, girl-warrior, girl-

worker, girl-graduate, girl-miser, girl-sculler, girl-sorter.

virgin: St. Lucia was a virgin martyr: Brewer, Lucia, p. 575, c. 1.

b) The appositively prefixed word is an **adjective**:

1) **Male sex** is indicated.

wæpned, wep: God hi geworhte wæpnedman ane wimman: the Gospel of St. Mark, quoted from Bos-Toll; — wepmen ge wifmen: Beda, Historia Eccles., quoted from Bos-Toll; — wepmen and wifmen: OE. Homilies in Sp. I, p. 21, l. 105; — XX M. wifmonna and wæpnedmonna: King Alfred's Orosius, ed. by Sweet, quoted from Bos-Toll; — nabbe ich of wepmonne nones kunnes ymone: de muliere Samar. in Zup.-Sch. p. 115, l. 32; — gode leof ouer alle wepmen: Oris. Lady in Sp. I, p. 130, l. 20; — þu ert briht and blisfal ouer alle wummen and god ðu ert and gode leof ouer alle wepmen: on god ureisun of are lefdi in Zup.-Sch. p. 107, l. 19—20; — for wæpnedbearne sceolde cennende wif hi ahabban from Godes huse ingange and for wifcilde . . . : Beda quoted from Bos-Toll; — ealle þa wæpnedmenn: Alfred's transl. Oros. in Ags. Read. p. 25, l. 34.

male (adopted from French mâle). This word (with its correlative *female*) plays an important part as a means of emphasizing sex as early as in Wycliff, when both words occur with this function alternately with *he* — *she*, with the restriction that *male* — *female* is often used with regard to human beings, whereas in this early stage of English *he* — *she* are only prefixed to names of animals. In NE. their use has greatly increased and they are words not easily to be dispensed with when the two sexes are put in opposition to each other, for instance: male or female persons (Libr. Dict. XI, c. 2), a male Tulliver was far more than equal to four female Dodsons (Eliot, Mill,

p. 142), whereas when femininity is to be indicated, to the epicene sb. is prefixed alternatively *female*, *woman*, *lady* or (rarely) a feminine derivative in *-ess* is used (Shindler, poets: poetess, p. XLVI, female poet, p. XLVI, woman poet, p. XLV; female friend, woman friend, lady friend, girl-friend). "While the original French word always was chiefly a sb., in English, on the other hand, the adjectival use is by far the more prominent, the feeling of the modern language apprehends the sb. as an absolute use of the adjective" (NED.). — Charles the duke of S. sole heir male: Shak. Henry V., I, 2. 54; — Achilles' male varlet: Troilus V. 1. 17; — Cain the first male child: John III. 4. 79; — male criminals: Npm. 618; — all the male children: Matt. 1. 16; — male prisoners: Npm. 619; — the male customers: Eliot, Mill, p. 399; — his male parishioners: Eliot, Mill, p. 476; — the male attendants: Brewer, Leoline, p. 547; — our male friends: Graphic 7. 3. 03, p. 315; — the male child: Times 9. 1. 03, p. 30; — the male reader: Graphic 24. 1. 03, p. 124; — vagabonds, male and female: Ol. Twist, p. 360; — male workers: Review, August 1891, p. 162; — male or female persons: Libr. Dict. XI, c. 2; — there is but one . . . male parent of each tribe: She. p. 53, c. 2; — a male Tulliver was far more than equal to four female Dodsons: Eliot, Mill, p. 142; — the male soldiers: Ency. Brit., art. Dahomey, VI, p. 767, c. 1; — every inhabitant . . . male and female: NED. (art. every); — male visitors: Review, August 1891, p. 162.

masculine (corr. feminine): Why his masculine whore: Shak. Troil. V. 1. 19; — masculine humanity: Eves, p. 28; — a masculine woman: Brewer, Black acre; — masculine society: Review, August 1891, p. 153.

2) **Female** sex is indicated.

female (corr. male): female bastard: Shak. Wint. II. 3. 175; — a female heir: Shak. Pericles, Prol. (Shak. does not use *heiress*); — my female cousins: Rod. Random, Contents V; — our other female passenger: l. c. I. 68; — her female friend and confidante: Snobs, p. 25; — her female friends: Eliot, Mill, p. 53; — the female slave: Brewer, Morgiana, p. 661; — a female liar: Brewer, Sapphira, p. 870; — female servants: Payn, Tales, p. 237; — the female novelists: Laying, p. 189; — S. the female ambassador: Brewer; — the female children: Ency. Brit., Amazons, I, p. 655, c. 1; — G. Eliot was the most gifted female novelist of our time: Laying, p. 235; — a female infant: Payn, Tales, p. 163; — female poets: Shindler, poets, p. XLVI; — Joan, the name given to a female pope (cf. p. 31 papess): Ency. Brit. XIII, p. 695, c. 1; — future female M. D's: Graphic 4. 4. 03, p. 460; — female visitors: Review, August 1891, p. 162; — the female sex: Ency. Brit. VI, p. 767, c. 1.

feminine (corr. masculine): I saugh . . a feminyne creature: Ch. House of Fame, III. 1365; — his feminine companions: Eliot, Mill, p. 77; — all feminine judges: l. c. p. 399; — his feminine parishioners: l. c. p. 470; — countess T. whom she says is one of those feminine heroines: Review, November 1891, p. 498.

c) The appositively prefixed word is a **pronoun** (*he* — *she*).

1) a word of common gender is restricted to the **male** sex:

he: a he-cook of course! ne'er keep a she-cook: Moore in NED.

2) a word of common gender is restricted to the **female** sex:

she: thy father who put stuff to some she-beggar: Shak. Timon 4. 3; — you would think a smock were a

she-angel: Shak. Winter's T. 4.3; — she fool, she cannibals: Beaum. and Fletcher quoted by Fiedler-Sachs, p. 147; — she-neighbour: Ben Jonson in Fiedler-Sachs; — Captain he-Otter, your she-Otter is coming: Ben Jonson, quoted by Koch § 85; — she-friend: Ben Jonson in Fiedler-Sachs, p. 147; — she-friend, she-slave, she-neighbour: Lady Montague, quoted by Mätzner, p. 247; — she-devil: Kingsley, Westw. Ho, II. 210; — a she chimney-sweep: Van. Fair, quoted by Koch § 85; — she-disciples: Spectator in Fiedler-Sachs; — to make a penitent of her, eh? . . a nun or a she-hermit: Hypatia, II. 67; — to her the great . . worshipped she-philosopher: l. c. p. 65.

As *man* serves to transform nomina agentis who properly denote females into male agents, *she* is sometimes used in the inverse way to restrict nouns properly denoting a male to female sex, often with a deprecatory sense (cf. Koch § 85): be brief, my good she Mercury: Shak. M. Wives 2.2; — come, come, you she-knight-errant: Shak. Henry IV. B. 5.4; — the she-king, that less than woman . . with his female mates: Byron, Sardan. quoted by Koch; — she-men: Byron, Don Juan in Koch; — she-Macchiavel: Spectator, quoted by Koch.

In Shak. *she* occurs used as a substantive (for *wife*, *female*): when I was young, I was wont to load my she with knacks: Winter's T. 4.3; — or I could make him swear the shes of Italy should not betray mine interest: Cymbeline 1.4. Cf. Koch § 85.

he, *she* are sometimes used in combination with an adjective: the fairest he, the fairest she (quoted from Koch, § 85); — lady, you are the cruell'st she alive: Shak. Twelfth Night 1.5, quoted from Koch § 85.

B. Animals.

With regard to animals, the English language possesses many ways of emphasizing sex by means of composition. Old English, however, offers few instances of it, partly because in this undeveloped period the language did not need to emphasize sex, partly because where such expressions were wanted, the different endings were sufficient to indicate difference in sex. But as on one side the endings were confused and on the other side two different correlatives for the two sexes only existed in case of some of the higher animals, composition was resorted to by the language when sex was emphasized.

1. A **substantive** is appositively prefixed to the word of common gender.

A) A word of common gender is restricted to the **male** sex.

boar (correl. *sow*) is used in combinations as boar-cat (NED.), boar squirrel (Cent. D.). — bore-cats: 1607 Topsell in NED.

buck (correl. *doe*): indicates sex in buck-fawn, buck-goat, buck-hare, buck-rabbit, buck-rat (NED.). — gatbucca (Bos-Toll); this combination shows that gat could be used very early without regard to sex, though it originally denoted female sex; — a buk of geet: Wycliff, Numbers 7. 16 B.; (geetbuk I. S.); — geetbuk: Wycliff, Numbers 7. 22 and 7. 34 I. S.

bull (correl. *cow*): bull-calf: Shak. Henry IV. A. II. 4. 287; — bull elephant: She. p. 63, c. 1; — bull elephants: Jungle, p. 210; — bull buffaloes: Jungle, p. 114.

carl: is used in *carl cat*, *carl crab*. "The asserted occurrence of *carl-catt*, *carl-fugol* etc. in OE. appears to be an error; they have not been found by us even in ME." (quoted from NED.). — *carl-cat*: a boar or *he-cat*: 1691 Ray in NED.

cock (correl. *hen*): *cock-pigeon*: Shak. As you like it, IV. 1. 151; — a huge *cock ostrich* .. at every stride of its long legs: Jess, p. 4, c. 1.

colt (correl. *filly*): "a young horse or a young animal of the horse tribe: commonly and distinctively applied to the male, the young female being a filly" (Cent. D.). — *colt foal*: Mätzner, p. 247.

dog (correl. *bitch*); *dog* is used with names of some animals (esp. those of the dog kind) as in *dog hound*, *dog hyæna*, *dog otter*, *dog tiger*, *dog fox*, *dog wolf*. — the *dogge tiger*: 1555 Eden in NED.; — an old *dog hound*: 1687 Lond. Gaz. in NED.; — We have got the *dog fox* — the *bitch* is not far off: Fielding, T. Jones in NED.

father (correl. *mother*): *father wolf*, *mother wolf*: Jungle, p. 1, 3, etc. (*father* -- *mother* imply more than a simple difference in sex.)

gentleman (correl. *lady*): a *gentleman dog* and a *lady dog*: Bulwer, Nov. quoted by Koch § 85.

male (correl. *female*): one male of the goats: Numbers 7. 17, 22, etc.

B) A word of common gender is restricted to the **female** sex.

bitch: the *dogge tiger* beyng thus kylled they came to the *denne* where the *bytche* remayned: 1555 Eden in NED.; — We have got the *dog fox*. I warrant the *bitch* is not far off: 1749 Fielding in NED.; — *bitch-wolves*: 1820 Scott in NED.

cow: *pe aschen* of a *cow-calf*: Paues, Ebv. p. 100,

l. 13; — a large cow-whale with her calf: Ch. 34; — the cow-buffaloes: Jungle, p. 99.

doe: capra, gootdoo: Voc. in Wr. Wülker, quoted from NED.; — doe-rabbit: Mätzner, p. 247.

ewe: ewe lambren: Wycliff, Genesis B. 21. 28, 29, 30; (A.: she lambis); — one he-lamb; one ewe-lamb: Holy B., Numbers 6. 14; — one little ewe lamb: II. Sam. 12. 3.

filly: used in comb. as filly-foal, filly-stag (NED.). — It is a horse foole, bycause a horse gate it, though it be a felly fole: 1523 Fitzherb. in NED.; — Brown draught brood mare, with filly foal: 1884 Sussex Gaz. in NED.

hen: hennepartridge: 1616 Surfl. in NED.; — hen-sparrow: 1660 Boyle in NED.; — hen-pheasant: 1760 Edwards in NED.; — pea-hen; turkey-hen. — In figurative sense: a tough old hen-master like the captain: Westward Ho I. 8.

lady: the lady-spiders must be mutually shocked at each other's appearance: Eliot, Mill, p. 22. Cf. gentleman p. 57.

mare: þritiȝ ȝefolra olfend myrena mid heora coltum . . . and XX ass myrena mid heora tyn coltum: 1000 Aelfric, Genesis 32. 15, quoted from NED., art. colt 1.

mother: a mother goat, going abroad for the day told her kid . . .: Brewer, Palinode; — the mother whale was seen approaching her offspring: Chum, p. 34; — I rob the mother Pelicans of fish: Wide W. Mag. August 1898, p. 469; — the mother bird . . signalled the head of the family to make haste home: Npm., July 29, 1899, p. 14, c. 2.

sow: sow-pig, a gelded female pig: Wright, The English Dialect Dictionary.

2. An **adjective** is prefixed to the word of common gender.

A) to denote **male** sex:

male: ten male assis: Genesis 14. 22 in NED.

B) to denote **female** sex:

female: femal assis: Wycliff, I. Kings 9. 5 B.; (A.: she assis); — a femal bere: Wycliff, Proverbs 17. 12 B.; (A.: she bere); -- ten male assis and so many femal assis: Genesis 14. 23 in NED.; — a female ape: 1400 Octonian in NED.; — the female bee that feeds her husbond drone: Milton in Herr. p. 79, c. 2; — he enclosed a female scorpion: 1774 Goldsmith in NED.; — did not a tame female specimen die at the Zoo.: Graphic 14. 3. 03, p. 354; — a female pig: Skeat, Et. dict. sow; — a female dog: l. c., bitch; — a female sheep: l. c., ewe; — the milk of the female yak is very rich and its flesh is delicious: The Royal Reader, No. 5, p. 316.

Some adjectives the meaning of which does not point to sex at all, have come to be used to denote a special, definite sex in certain stereotyped combinations. Such adjectives are *fair*, *gentle*, *superior*, *weak*, which combined with a substantive (seldom adjective) (frequently: *sex*, but also *reader*, *friend*, etc.) restrict this word to femininity; and *superior* to the male sex: a crowd composed of the superior sex: Graphic 21. 3. 03, p. 374, c. 3; — the talents of the fair are more versatile than those of the sex which calls itself superior: Payn, Sunny Stories, p. 194.

fair: will I break my oath to this my fair beloved: Shak. Winter's Tale 4. 3; — my fair companion: Payn, Tales, p. 129; — one of my fair hearers: Payn, l. c. p. 157; — his fair clientele: Eves, p. 14; — the assumption of the masculine apparel — seldom fails to

bring its fair wearers into evil: Payn, *Sunny Stories*, p. 187; — the fair sex: Eliot, *Mill*, p. 387; — my fair readers: *Npm.* p. 594, c. 2; — male neighbours . . . are likely to pay their fair friends an illimitable visit: Eliot, *Mill*, p. 379; — the fair candidate must have seen . . . twenty-five summers: *Review*, October 1891, p. 396, c. 2; — fair fencers (alternating with lady fencer): *Graphic* 14. 11. 03, p. 654; — with a civil apology to his fair friend: *Milit. Anecdotes*, p. 141, c. 2.

gentle: three of the gentler sex: *Graphic* 28. 2. 03, p. 294, c. 1; — her gentle auditors: *Alhambra*, p. 124; — the gentler portion of Creation: Payn, *Sunny Stories*, p. 183.

weaker: the weaker sex has established its rights: *She.* p. 58, c. 1; — the weaker sex: Eliot, *Mill*, p. 36; — the weaker portion of the sex: *l. c.* p. 106.

softer: the softer sex: *She.* p. 99, c. 2.

beau: the beau sex: Bulwer, *Td.*, p. 168.

Sex is often used with reference to one of the two personal sexes without any qualifying adjective or in combination with an adjective which in itself does not point to a special sex (*other*, *opposite*), when the context is sufficiently clear to determine the sense. — he had a sailor's confidence in the sex: Payn, *Sunny st.*, p. 176; — she determined to run no risk . . . from the opposite sex in future: Payn, *l. c.* p. 187; — like the rest of her sex: *Npm.* p. 622, c. 2; — the woman . . . is less likely than a first offender of the other sex to regain the path of honesty: *Npm.* p. 618, c. 1.

3. A pronoun is prefixed.

With regard to animals, *he* — *she* occurred very early as a means of expressing sex, though they have not gained such an extension as *male* — *female*. In the Wycliffite versions of the Bible the pronouns are used

with this function in the earlier version, and the adjective in the later. — ten hee assis and as feele she assis: 1382 Wycliff, Genesis 14. 13, quoted by NED.; (1388 ten male assis and so many femal assis); — two hundred she-goats and twenty he-goats . . . twenty she-asses and ten foals: Genesis 32. 14; — a she asse tyed and a colt with hir: Wycliff, Matt. 21. 2 A.; (B.: an asse tied); — a she asse and the fole: l. c. 21. 7 A.; (B.: an asse and the fole); — a she bere: Proverbs 17. 12 A.; (B.: a femal bere); — she assis: l. Kings 9. 5 A.; (B.: femal assis); — a she-wolf hath also a vileins kinde: Chaucer C. T. H. 183; — she ape: Chaucer C. T. I. 424; — ay pou meng with þe male; þe mete ho-beste; Allit. poems in Sp. II, p. 154, l. 337; — and from the she-beares teats her whelps to teare: Spenser, Fairy Queen, Book I, Canto VI, xxiv; — he-lions are hirsute (the shes are smooth): Bacon, Locke, Select works quoted by Fiedler-Sachs, p. 147; — milking of he-goats: Ben Jonson quoted by Fiedler-Sachs; — to betray a she-lamb of a twelvemonth, to a crooked-pated old ram: Shak. As you like it III. 2. 86; — I would . . . pluck the young sucking cubs from the she-bear: Shak. Merch. II. 1. 29; — she asses: Job 1. 3; — one he-goat: Numbers 29. 5; 28. 30; — five he-goats: l. c. 7. 17; — one he-lamb and one ewe-lamb: l. c. 6. 14; — and he had he-asses and she-asses: Genesis 12. 16; — she-elephants: Jungle p. 210; — she-elephant: l. c. p. 196.

Finally, in case of animals sex is distinguished (and this occurs chiefly in the dialects) by means of certain personal names put before the class-nouns to be qualified. Such names are *Tom*, *Jack*, *Robin*, *Billy*, which denote masculinity, and *Tib*, *Jenny*, *Nanny*, *Mag*, which point to female sex. — Pliny relates from Varro that a Jack-ass for a stallion was bought: 1727 Arbuthnot in NED.; — I have two . . . jacks and several she asses: 1799

Washington in NED.; — A jackass and his jenny: 1808 Barrett in NED.

Tom: male is commonly used in the neighbourhood of Liphook, Hampshire when little animals are spoken of. . . . I have heard tom-rat, tom-rabbit, tom-mouse, tom-ferret, tom-weasel, tom-pigeon, tom-turkey. A sparrow however is a jack-sparrow, and a dog or larger animal is, I believe, never a tom." (Cent. D.)

These personal names, however, have not always their original power of denoting sex. Many compositions where they occur are used without any regard to sex at all. Generally, when such a name is used as a means to indicate sex, it is used in combination with a correlative. Whereas jack-ape means male ape and jack-ass female ass (cf. Cent. D.), combinations like jack-rabbit, jack-dow, jack-dog are used without regard to sex (cf. headwords in Cent. D.).

IV. Words of common gender.

A. Human beings.

Words of common gender use the same form for a male and a female being alike. Such words are made use of when no reference at all is made to sex e. g. a *friend* (male or female) in need is a friend in deed, or when only one of the two sexes is referred to and it is clear from the context which sex is meant (generally the sex may be inferred from a personal or possessive pronoun in the same phrase): I had neither friends nor acquaintances until I met that *friend* who became my wife and the mother of my children (Stephenson, Pavilion, p. 1, l. 5—7). Here belong by far the biggest number of English words denoting living beings, viz. all nouns except 1) nouns for those ideas for which two correlatives, one for masculinity and the other for femininity, occur and have mostly existed since OE. (e. g. *king* — *queen*, *man* — *woman* etc.), and 2) nouns which express difference in sex by means of suffixes (e. g. *count* — *countess*, *abbot* — *abbess* etc.). But many words which in Early English, when it was question of a female, used a derivative in *-esse*, though for the intelligibility of the context this derivative was not necessary, have dropped this derivative ending in New English. Thus, for instance, *friend* and *cousin* are now used with regard to a

female instead of the earlier derivatives *friendesse* and *cousinesse*.

As we have seen above, there existed in Old English some words which indicated difference in sex by means of different endings, the male sex being denoted by the form ending in *-a*, the female sex by the form ending in *-e*. This way of marking distinction in sex may have been extended to many words indicating trades or professions which were followed by females as well as by males. But it is probable that words like: *cuma*, *bara*, *swica*, *nihsta*, *cempa*, *wiþer-saca*, *wiþer-winna*, *wiþer-breca* etc. might be used indiscriminately with regard to a male or a female. This is decidedly the case with *gewita*, *gemaca*: gif heo clæne sy and ðæs facnes gewita nære: Laws of King Athelstan, quoted from Bos-Toll; — *gemaca*, hic et hæc par: Aelfric Gr. quoted from Bos-Toll; — *gemæcca*, *gemæccea*, m. and f. conjunx: Aelfric Gr. in Bos-Toll.

Wiglere: ðes and ðeos wiglere, hic et hæc augur: Aelfric Gr. quoted from Bos-Toll.

A. *Child* and its synonyms *babe*, *baby*, *cub*.

From a historical point of view *child* is a word of impersonal gender, its inflection in Old English being that characteristic of words of neuter gender. The impersonal gender is kept (i. e. *child* is spoken of by *it*, *its*), when no reference is made to sex, though in this case the masculine gender is often used according to the principle that neuter gender denoted impersonality. But as, on one side, *child* is used when a male child is meant, and, on the other side, *child* occurs, when it is question of a girl, it stands to reason that *child* is referred to by *he*, *his* in the former case and by *she*, *her* in the latter case. But even in these two cases *child*

receives impersonal gender, when utter helplessness should be denoted, viz. when it is treated as a lifeless thing.

a) **Masculine** gender: *pa pis child was feir muche, pa luuede he a maide: Lay. A. 255—256; — pe child him answerde sone so he hit herde: K. Horn l. 200 in Sp. I. p. 243; — With-than that thu wilt this child take and leden him with the to-nicht. . . Grim tok the child and bond him faste: Havelok 532 in Sp. I. p. 229; — Ande P. saide, Lede pis childe to po tribune for he haues sumwhat to telle vnto him. Ande po tribune lete pis childe go and bade hym pat he schulde telle vnto none pat he hade made pis knowne unto him: Paues, Ebv. p. 186. 17—22; — as lat my litel child dwelle heer; and if thou darst not saven him . . so kis him ones: Chaucer, C. T. B. 859—861; — And he called to him a little child and set him in the midst of them: Matt. 18. 2; — And the child grew . . and the grace of God was upon him: Luke 2. 40; — the child is a genius. Why, he extemporises in the most marvellous way: Sil. Trag. 10; — Our child brought two of his papers home, because as he indignantly declared: Ch. 29.*

b) **Feminine** gender: a child was beheaded for having struck her parents: El. 23; — you called that poor child a prostitute because she had wasted the good gifts . . .: Hall. I. 148.

c) **Neuter** gender: he left the child to his sister who had undertaken the care of it: Fielding, Tom Jones, quoted by Koch; — my husband need never know whose child it is I adopt, I promise you to be good to it. It shall never leave me: Hall. II. 127; — if your child can't look up to its mother, let it look up to its father: Eves, p. 20.

babe: and found both Mary and Joseph and the babe lying in the manger. And when they saw it: Luke 2. 16—17.

baby: a) **Masculine** gender: the baby was pushing his way: *Jungle*, p. 7 (it is question of a boy).

b) **Neuter** gender: M. could not speak but put out her arms to receive the tiny baby while Mumps snuffed at it: *Eliot, Mill*, p. 453; — looking down at the baby and holding it anxiously: l. c. 453; — such satisfaction as a baby has when it is returned to the nurse's lap: l. c. p. 182.

Though *baby* is used without regard to sex in the following instance, it is spoken of by *his*: a healthy baby lies . . on his side: *Hch.* 281; — a hungry baby cries vigorously, clenches his fists: *Hch.* 281.

cub: a) **Masculine** gender: the man's cub is mine! He shall not be killed: *Jungle*, p. 9; — He shall live to run . . he shall hunt thee: l. c. p. 9.

b) **Neuter** gender: is that a man's cub? Bring it here: *Jungle*, p. 7; — a man's cub went this way, said K. Its parents have run off. Give it to me: l. c. p. 8.

B. *Bachelor*, which is generally masculine, *girl*, *harlot*, *wench*, *witch*, which are generally of feminine gender.

Bachelor (cf. page 9) means (in Ben Jonson, *Magnet. Lady*) a maid, a single woman. Obsolete, rare (NED.). Moreover, one who has taken the first or lowest degree at the University (l. c.). In this use it was of course originally masculine, but as women have been admitted to most British Universities, a woman may now be Bachelor of Arts.

Girl (cf. page 9) was used in ME. in the sense of "a child or young person of either sex, a youth or maiden" (NED.). — the yonge girles of the diocyse (*girles* means young people of both sexes): Chaucer, C. T. A. 664; — grammer for girles I garte first to

write: Piers Ploug. 5961—5962; — here knave gerlys I xal steke: Coventry Mystery of the slaughter of the Innocents, quoted from Piers Ploug., Glossary.

Harlot, disorderly person, originally used of both sexes indifferently. "As a word of masculine gender found early in 13th cent., as feminine in 15th cent." (NED.). — He was a gentil harlot: Chaucer, C. T. A. 647; — a sturdy harlot wente: Chaucer, C. T. D. 1754; — He was unhardy that harlot: Piers Ploug. 11584; — "spec. a prostitute, very frequent in 16th c. Bible versions, where Wyclif had hoore" (NED.).

Wench. "The original sense was simply infant without respect of sex, but as the word also implies weak or tender, it was naturally soon restricted to the weaker sex" (Skeat, Etym. Dict.). — An wennchell patt iss Jesu Crist: Orrm. 3356; — go 3e away, for the wenche is not dead but slepith: Wyclif, Matt. 9. 24, quoted from Cent. Dict.); — were and wif & wenchel (man and wife and child): Ancr. R. p. 334 (Cent. D.); — lord and lady, grome and wenche: Chaucer, House of F. I. 206.

Witch (cf. page 9) was of the common gender up to a very late period (NED., common 17 b). — some seide he was a wicche: Piers Pl. 12212; — I warrante hym a wicche: l. c. 12166; — Out fool, I forgive thee for a witch: Shak. Anton. Cleop. 1. 2. 40; — he swears she's a witch: Shak. Merry W. of W. 4. 2. 88.

C. *Fere*, *make*, *lemman*, *paramour*, *person*, *party*, which always have been of common gender.

fere: a companion, comrade, mate, partner, whether male or female (NED.); — his fere (a knight Achates): Chaucer, Legend of G. W. 969; -- who-so he be that shulde been hir fere: Chaucer, Minor Poems, V. 410; — Orphes and Erudice his fere: Chaucer, Troil. a. Cres. IV. 791.

make: a) **Masculine**: it is no repreve to wedde me, if that my make dye: Chaucer, C. T. D. 84—85; — a mayden pat make hade neuer: Allit. Poems in Sp. II. p. 152, l. 248; — Andromache resorted to the parentes of her make: Surrey in Sp. III. p. 210, l. 596; — many wedows, with wepyng tears cam to fache ther makys away: Chevy Chase in Sp. III. p. 74, l. 118.

b) **Feminine**: Zakarißess macche Elysabæp: Orrm. 290; — hir thoughte a despit that he sholde take so strange a creature unto his make: Chaucer, C. T. B. 700; — Rymenhild his make: King Horn in Sp. I. p. 283, l. 1451; — with þe þou take þe make} of þy sune}: Allit. poems in Sp. II. p. 154, l. 331.

lemman: a) **Masculine**: heo hauede enne leouemon . . . þene king of Denemerke: Lay. A. 4486; — now, dere lemmon, quod she: Ch. C. T. A. 4240; — gode lemmon, god thee save and kepe (quod she): l. c. 4247; — he wolde be hire Limman or Paramour: Maund. 24.

b) **Feminine**: Lauine hehte his leuemon: Lay. A. 190; — and he him ȝef þes womman þat raper was mi lemman: Lay. B. 4649—4650; — lemman, he sede, dere: Sp. I. p. 251, l. 433; — to-day hap ywedde Fikenhild pi swete lemman Rymenhild: Sp. I. p. 284, l. 1485—1486; — he ȝede forþ bliue to Rymenhild, his wyue. He sede, Lemman derling: Sp. I. p. 260, l. 725; — unto his lemman Dalila he tolde: Chaucer, C. T. B. 3253; — (he seyde) for derne love of thee lemman, I spille: Chaucer, C. T. A. 3278; — (he seyde) lemman love me al at-ones: l. c. 3280.

paramour: a) **Masculine**: thoughe . . . ye had a paramour: Nut-brown maid in Sp. III. p. 106, l. 151. — thu art my suete childe and paramour: Coventry Myst. in Wülker, Alt. Les. p. 131, l. 37.

b) **Feminine**: my fourthe housbonde . . . he hadde a paramour: Chaucer, C. T. D. 454; — of paramour he sette nat a kers: Chaucer, C. T. A. 3756.

person: the Registrar may write to any one of the above-mentioned persons, requiring him or her to . . : Whitaker's Almanack, p. 400; — there is no doubt that a person's face indicates to a great extent his or her character: Tb. 3. 9. 92, p. 380.

The combination young person, however, is always used with regard to a female (cf. in French *jeune personne*). — you are acquainted with that young person? She comes to teach Miss F. W.: Eves, p. 15; — if this young person should produce her letters for blackmailing or other purposes, how is she to prove their authenticity: Sherl. Holmes, p. 7, c. 2.

party: that one of such parties hath had his or her usual place of abode within the boundaries . . . : Whitaker's Almanack, p. 402, c. 1; — it is necessary for only one of the parties to give notice to the registrar, in whose district he or she has resided: l. c. p. 402, c. 1.

D. Words like *cook*, *cousin*, *friend*, *spouse* etc. which formerly indicated feminine gender by means of the derivative ending *-ess* but in current English seldom or never do so.

cook. OE. *coc* is always masculine (Aelfric Gr. Grein); ME. *cok* is still confined to masculine gender: *nefde he neuere nanne coc pat he nes keppe swide god*: Lay. A. 19948; — *Bertram pat was þe erles kok*: Hauelok 2898; — (*Yet saugh I*) *the cook y-scalded for al his longe ladel*: Chaucer, C. T. A. 2020; — *a cook they hadde with them . . . He coude roste and sethe*: l. c. 379—383; — *the maister cooke was cald C. — a careful man*: Spenser, F. Queen B. II. C. IX, St. 31. — In NE. *cook* is of common gender.

a) **Masculine**: but for William cook . . . are there no young pigeons: Shak. Henry IV B. Act. V, Scene 1. — you said the cook was sober. He was not so very much disguised: Marryat in Herr. p. 459, c. 1; — the duke of W's cook was reckoned a most accomplished artist in his line. He entered the service of: Ch. p. 24; — at the end of seven years he is a cook: Hch. p. 253.

b) **Feminine**: one mistress Quickly which is in the manner of his nurse or his cook or his laundry: Shak. Merry W. of W. I. 2. 4; — when my old wife lived . . . she was both pantler, butler, cook, both dame and servant: Shak. Winter's T. 4. 3; — when cook renews her morning din: Dobson in Shindler, Poets, p. 68; — Swift sent for the cook and told her to take the mutton down: Short stories, p. 7.

For male cook (head cook) the French word *chef* (*chef de cuisine*) is used: Mr. M. the chef of the Guildhall Kitchen: Graphic 1. 11. 02, p. 588; — in Paris, where the bourgeois boy or the country gamin is converted into a chef: Hch. p. 253, c. 1. Jocularly or familiarly *cordon bleu* (a first-class cook) is used: do not be afraid, my dear fellow, my cook is an artiste extraordinaire — a regular cordon bleu: Marryat in Sturzenbeckers läsebok I. p. 182.

cousin: a) **Masculine**: to me that am thy cosyn and thy brother: Chaucer, C. T. A. 1131; — Arnoldin pat was Apulfes cosin: K. Horn in Sp. I. p. 284; — Alfred, is cosin and is felawes also: Rob. Gloucester in Sp. II. p. 3, l. 40; — Alfred mi cosin and my kunesman also: l. c. p. 5, l. 123; — where is my cousin, your son: Shak. Much Ado 1. 2. 2.

b) **Feminine**: Elisabeth thi cosyn: Wyclif, Luke 1. 36 B.; (A.: has thi cosynness); — there you shall find my cousin Beatrice: Shak. Much Ado 3. 1. 2; — the duke's daughter, her cousin: Shak. As You Like It 1.

1. 113; — Lady B. (Fatima's cousin): Barbazure by Jeames in Snobs, p. 265; — your cousin that beautiful Mrs T.: Eves, p. 26; — this young cousin of yours cannot be a very amiable temper. And she is musical: Eves, p. 4.

friend is early used with feminine sense. *Friendless* seems not to have been much used, though it occurs frequently in Wyclif (cf. page 31). — Playse the thenne to have mercy of this poure desolate frende [Dido]: 1490 Caxton, Eneydos in NED.; — I (Mrs Page) will not be your friend, nor enemy: Shak. Merry W. of W. 3. 4; — there is a fat friend . . . that kitchen'd me for you . . She now shall be my sister, not my wife: Shak. Comedy of E. 5. 1; — and will you (Hermia) rent our ancient love to join with men in scorning your poor friend: Helena in Shak. Midsumm. N. D. 3. 2; — wherefore is Charles impatient with his friend?: La pucelle in Shak. Henry VI. A. 2. 1; — she behaved to me rather as a friend: Defoe, The adventures of a cavalier, p. 72; — Her friend Mrs Lascelles: Marryat in Herr. p. 481, c. 1.

spouse: a) **Masculine**: heo schal to spuse haue Apulf mi gode felaȝe: King Horn in Sp. I. p. 268, l. 1007; — ten virgynys — wente out meetynge the spouse or husbonde and the spousesse or wijf: Wyclif, Mattheus 25. 1 A.; — forsothe dayes shulen come, whenne the spouse shal be taken away from hem: Wyclif, Mark 2. 20 A.; — my wretched spouse (quod she): Surrey in Sp. III. p. 213, l. 679.

b) **Feminine**: and to spuse (pu schalt) helde — mi doȝter: King Horn in Sp. I. p. 266, l. 912; — an auncre, Godes spouse, þat nolde — fle out of hire house: Rob. Gloucester in Sp. II. p. 17, l. 485; — Joseph and Maria his spuse: Cursor M. in Sp. II, p. 74, l. 139; — Hera, spouse of Zeus: Hypatia, p. 89.

Further may be quoted a French loan-word ending in *-eur*, *accoucheur*, “properly a man who assists a woman in child-birth, a man-midwife, but until the very recent adoption of the Fr. *accoucheuse* ¹⁾ used of both sexes” (NED.). — Nothing will serve you but to carry off the man-midwife. *Accoucheur*, if you please, quoth Dr. Slop: Sterne, Trist. Shandy in NED.; — his father was only an *accoucheur*: Disraely in NED.

Finally it may be added that frequently a word in *-er* is used as noun of common gender though there in the current language exists a female derivative: it is still as a *dancer* (though *danseuse* exists) that she will be best remembered: Graphic 28. 2. 03, p. 283, c. 3; — she (Joan of Arc) was accused as a heretic and *sorcerer* (though *sorceress* exists): Ency. Brit. XIII. p. 697, c. 1.

B. Animals.

As we have seen above, the domestic animals have special names for the male and the female. Apart from these names serving to denote sex, there often exists a general noun which is used when the animal is spoken of without regard to sex. For most of the animals, i. e. for the lower ones or for the animals which are not in near relation to man, only one general noun exists. In OE. these nouns had a special grammatical gender, masculine or feminine, though a masculine noun might be used with regard to a female and vice versa.

Old English.

Masculine are: a) quadrupeds: *apa*, *bera*, *beofor*, *camel*, *draca*, *hara*, *hraw*, *hund*, *leopard*, *lox*, *læce*, *meaƿþ*, *mul*, *olfenda*, *olfend*, *oter*, *otr*, *screawa*, *ur*, *ylp*.

¹⁾ Cf. page 43.

b) birds: *brid*, *capun*, *cran*, *dufe-doppa*, *earn*, *finc*, *fugol*, *geac*, *glida*, *heafoc*, *hragra*, *hræfn*, *hroc*, *mæw*, *meaw*, *spearwa*, *stær*, *struta*, *swan*, *wrenna*.

c) reptiles: *frogga*, *maþa*, *snaca*, *snæzl*, *þrowend*.

d) insects: *bytel*, *betel*, *ceafer*, *fleah*, *gærshoppa*, *gnætt*, *hama*, *hunta*, *mycg*, *wifel*, *wæps*.

e) fishes: *bears*, *hacod*, *hæfern*, *hæring*, *hran*, *hwæl*, *leax*, *seolh*, *sprott*, *æl*.

Feminine are: a) quadrupeds: *mus*.

b) birds: *agu*, *crawe*, *culfre*, *eued*, *hearpene*, *lawerce*, *linetwige*, *mase*, *nihtegale*, *osle*, *snite*, *swealwe*, *þrostle*, *þrysce*, *ule*.

c) reptiles: *aþexe*, *efete*, *næ(d)dre*, *tadiþe*, *yce*.

d) insects: *æmete*, *beo*, *butterfleoge*, *fleoge*, *loppe*, *lus*, *moþþe*.

e) fishes: *loppestre*, *ostre*, *reohhe*, *scill*.

Neuter are: *deor*, *hors*, *lamb*, *swin*, *ticcen*, *wicg*.

Middle and New English.

The elaborate system of inflection and concord had been the means by which the mechanical distinctions of grammatical gender had been kept up in OE. When by the loss of the flection the outward distinctive mark for the grammatical gender no longer existed, it had to disappear. There arose from this time a general tendency in the English language to give neuter gender to all nouns of animals which are used without regard to sex; personal gender was given only to human beings and to those names of animals which point distinctly to male or female sex. But in spite of the rapid levelling of the endings, the sense of the original gender was not lost all at once. Thus it is preserved in Layamon in the few words of this category which this text offers. But the two Wycliffite versions of the Bible do not always

agree with regard to gender. I have found four passages where one version (generally the earlier) gives masculine gender to the same word which is treated as neuter in the other (generally the later version). This is a remarkable fact which bears evidence to the fluctuation and wavering in point of gender which was reigning at this period, and which is the struggle between the original gender, which may still have been alive to the minds of some people, and the rising tendency to attribute impersonal gender to the nouns which did not indicate natural sex. It is of course only an accident that our texts do not offer any instances of the same fluctuation between the feminine and neuter gender.

turtle: the turtill, a nest wher he leye up his briddis: Psalms 83.4 A.; — a turtle fyndith a neste to it self where it schal: l. c. B.

sparrow: the sparowe fonde to hym an hous: Psalms 83.4 A.; — a sparowe fyndith an hous to it self: l. c. B.

ant: go to the anpte and behold the weyes of it; the whiche whan it hath no ledere it greitheth mete to hymself that it ete: Proverbs 6.6 A.; — go to the amte and beholde thou hise weyes which whanne he hath no duyk . . . makith redi mete to hym silf . . . that he schal ete: l. c. B.

For fluctuation in gender between the masculine and the neuter, cf. NE. *shark*, page 95.

But in Genesis 8.8 we find something still more surprising in point of the word *culuer*, which is treated as masculine (and neuter) in the earlier and as feminine in the later version: he (Noah) sente out a culuer after hym; the which whan he had not foundun where his foot myȝte rest; and he (Noah) strawȝte out his honde and it takene putte into the erke: A.; — whanne the

culuer found not where hir foot schulde reste sche turnede aȝen to hym: B.

The general rule that impersonal gender is given to nouns of animals not referring to male or female sex, is subject to exceptions. Though no reference is made to sex, personal gender is used.

1. In cases where impersonal gender is not used, the gender is often regulated by the norm that animals which are remarkable for strength, fierceness and bigness are masculine and those which are feeble, timid and small are feminine.

2. The imagination of a writer has free play in poetry and allegorical style where the animals are often spoken of as beings endowed with reason. The animal is treated as masculine or feminine according to the individual conception of the writer. The gender which was applied to a given word in Latin, may sometimes be transferred on the corresponding English word. Likewise (and this occurs esp. in ME. works by the influence of translation) the gender of a given English noun was determined by the corresponding French word.

3. However, as the principles laid down above are rather vague and arbitrary, it frequently happens that one and the same word is treated differently with regard to gender by different writers and even that one and the same writer gives different gender to the same word, when it occurs several times, thus fluctuating between masculinity and femininity. And, moreover, as the principles stated in 1 and 2 are often crossed by the general rule that names of animals not referring to a definite sex should be treated as neuter, we often find for the same word masculine and neuter gender or feminine and neuter.

4. Whenever the animal has got a proper name, it receives personal gender: Dandie, a Newfoundland dog,

showed great intelligence in the use of money given him by strangers. Dandie frequently received money; he would go to the baker's shop: Short stories for composition, p. 47. — Aladdin (a horse) doesn't go as steadily as he used. No, miss 'e don't. These 'ills are trying to any animal's constitution and 'e 's 'eavy, Aladdin is: Eves, p. 12. — Sea Catch was fifteen years old, a huge . . seal with a mane on his shoulders: Jungle, p. 117. — Billy the mule carried himself . . : l. c. p. 248. — Nag, the cobra . . . he was five feet long: l. c. p. 160. — Nagaina (Nag's wicked wife). . . She had crept up behind him: l. c. p. 161. — Dougal (a dog) had stretched himself out and gone to sleep with his head on his huge paws: Little L. Fauntl. p. 91—92. — Rikki-tikki felt his eyes growing red and hot (when a mongoose's eyes grow red, he is angry) and he sat back on his tail and hind legs like a little kangaroo and looked all round him: Jungle, p. 162. — Chuchundra (the muskrat). He whimpers and cheeps all the night, trying to make up his mind to run into the middle of the room; but he never gets there: l. c. p. 166. — It was Darzee, the tailor-bird and his wife: l. c. p. 159. — It was the jackal Tabaqui; the wolves of India despise T. because he runs about: l. c. p. 2.

Quadrupeds.

ass (donkey, mule). It is generally masculine. It should be noticed, however, that its use in NE. has been considerably restricted as in familiar use it has been replaced by *donkey*, whereas *ass* is now only used in the language of Scripture, Natural History and Fable.

a) **Masculine**: Who lafte the asse fre and his (probably masc.) bondis who looside?: Wyclif, Job. 39.5 A.; — Who loside the boondis of hym: l. c. B.; — A miller and his son were driving their ass to the neighbouring

fair to sell him: Aesop's Fables, quoted by Behnsch; — Who hath loosed the bonds of the wild ass? Whose house I have made the wilderness, and the barren land his dwelling. He scorneth the multitude of the city: Bible quoted in Behnsch, p. 4; — the wild ass: he scorneth the tumult of the city: Job. 39.7 in Holy B.; — the ass is inferior in size . . to the horse; he is remarkable for his patience: Nat. hist. p. 13.

b) **Feminine**: a wild ass — that snuffeth up the wind at her pleasure: Bible quoted from Behnsch, p. 4.

donkey: a) **Masculine**: a placid donkey was bending his head: Eliot, Mill, p. 95; — the donkey himself: l. c. p. 100; — the donkey: he was easily caught: Short stories, p. 9.

b) **Neuter**: the second donkey with the leg on its foot: Eliot, Mill, p. 101.

mule: a) **Masculine**: a mule shaking his wet ears: Jungle, p. 223; — every mule hates to be reminded that his father was a donkey: l. c. p. 236.

b) **Neuter**: the mule: it is found in Spain: Nat. Hist. p. 13.

Behemoth: **Masculine**: behemoth, he schal etc: Wyclif, Job. 40.10 A.; — he strayneth his tail: Job. 40.12; — behold now Behemoth . . he eateth grass as an ox: Job. 40.15 quoted from Koch § 89; — Behemoth . . upheaved his vastness: Milton, P. L. quoted from Koch § 89.

bear: a) **Masculine**: and when there came a lion or a bear . . I wente out after him and smote him: 1 Samuel 17.34; — bear, he robbed the swarm: Gay, quoted from Koch § 88; — he makes his bed, hardens his heart against assailing want: Thomson, Winter, quoted from Koch § 88.

b) **Feminine** (used of a she-bear): a bear robbed of her whelps: Prov. 17.12 quoted from Koch § 88.

c) **Neuter**: the bear which took its victim's head in its claws: Ch. 6.

camel: a) **Masculine**: camaylle, he fedethe him with: Maund. 58; — camel, son of the desert: Thomson, quoted from Behnsch; — a camel with his big soft feet: Jungle, p. 223; — the baggage camel had been bobbing his head to and fro: l. c. p. 233; — the camel because he cheweth .. he is unclean to you: Levit. 11.4 in Holy B.

b) **Neuter**: the camel is remarkable for its docility: Nat. Hist. p. 15.

cat: a) **Masculine**: lat take a cat and fostre him wel .. and make his couche of silk and lat him seen a mous go by the wal: Chaucer, C. T. H. 175.

b) **Feminine**: the cat seized the bird in her mouth: Short stories, p. 8; — a large snow white Persian cat; she curled herself up as if she intended ...: Little l. Fauntl. p. 60; — the cat, she seized the rat by the crown: Nursery Rhymes, quoted from Koch § 91.

c) **Neuter**: like a cat when it is about to spring upon its prey: Macnish, Tales, quoted from Fiedler-Sachs, p. 138; — M. had a favourite cat. He even carried it about with him: Short stories, p. 54; — her own cat came down from its place of safety: l. c. p. 8.

dog: a) **Masculine**: there was a dog so wild .. that his master was obliged to .. prevent him biting: Aesop's Fables transl. by James, quoted from Behnsch; — the old dog always comes out of his kennel: Shirley by Currer Bell, quoted from Koch § 89; — mine enemy's dog though he had bit me: Shak. King Lear 4.7.

b) **Neuter** (and masculine): a large dog. During the service it lay at the top of the pulpit-stair. The queen who had observed the dog asked the cause of its absence. On learning that it had been supposed to

annoy her she said: Let him come as usual: Short stories, p. 49.

dromedary: a) **Masculine**: Behnsch, p. 5: dromedary im allgemeinen männlich. — B. does not quote any examples.

b) **Feminine**: thou art a swift dromedary traversing her ways: Jeremiah 2. 23.

elephant: a) **Masculine**: elephant, here he sees revolving ages sweep the changeful earth: Thomson, Summer, quoted from Koch § 89; — elephant: he: Somerville in Behnsch, p. 5; — a wild elephant does not reach up with his trunk: Jungle, p. 210; -- I do not mean to call an elephant a vulgar animal, but if you think about him carefully, you will find that his non-vulgarity consists . . . not in his insensitive hide . . . but in the way he will lift his foot if a child lies in his way: Ruskin in M. English Reader, p. 184.

b) **Neuter**: the conductor of the elephant who is usually mounted on its neck: Mavor in Mätzner, p. 249; — the elephant is the largest of land animals; its body: Nat. Hist. p. 11.

fox: **Masculine**: hundes . . pene vox driued; he vlih to pā holme: Lay. A. 20859; — panne fliep he to pan cleoue: l. c. B.; — a fox: so lange he schalle mynen and perce the Erthe til that he schalle passe thorghe: Maund. 267; — And whann thei seen the fox, thei schulle have gret marveyll of him: l. c.; — a fox aspiring lay, he raised his head: Gay, quoted from Koch § 89. — Mätzner, p. 250: fox gewöhnlich masculin.

goat: a) **Masculine**: a goat whenever a thymy bank he found: Gay, quoted from Koch § 89; — a goat, the goat-herd was trying to bring him back to his camp: Aesop's Fables in Behnsch, p. 5.

b) **Feminine**: a wolf seeing a goat, he could not

come at her, besought her to come down lower: Aesop's Fables in Behnsch, p. 5.

c) **Neuter**: took the goat of the sin offering and slew it: Levit. 9. 15.

Mätzner, p. 250: goat gewöhnlich masculin.

hare: a) **Masculine**: an haar . . for and he che- with kude bat the clee he dyuidith not: Wyclif, Levit. 11. 6 A.; — an hare for also he chewith: l. c. B.; — the purblind hare mark the poor wretch how he out- runs the winds and with what care he cranks and crosses: Shak. Venus and Adonis 114. 1.

b) **Feminine**: the hare because she cheweth the kud, she: Levit. 11. 6 in Holy B.; — a hare: her care was never to offend and ev'ry creature was her friend: Gay in Herr. p. 113, c. 2.

Mätzner, p. 251: hare gewöhnlich weiblich wie in der Jägersprache. — OE. *hara* was masculine, like other nouns of animals in *-a*. This gender was preserved in early ME. (as we have seen above in Wyclif) when people may still have had some sense of its having been masculine in OE., but according to the principles laid down page 75, 1, it is now generally feminine.

horse: **Masculine**: Whether shalt thou reren hym as locustis: Wyclif, Job. 39. 19; — one of the horsis took it into his head to stand still, neither blows nor entreaties could prevail with him to proceed: Vicar, p. 48; — Where is the horse? I have sold him: l. c. p. 58; — the horse; he is remarkable for his swift- ness: Nat. Hist. p. 13; — hast thou given the horse his might? hast thou made him to leap as a locust?: Job. 39. 19. 20 in Holy B.

hyæna: a) **Masculine**: his stealthy tread: Bryant in Mätzner, p. 250; — the fierce hyæna stalks and his carnage plies: Moore in Behnsch, p. 6, Koch § 89, Fiedler-

Sachs, p. 137; — we saw a hyæna; I sat up for him; he came within range and I shot him: Graphic 20. 6. 03, p. 829.

b) **Neuter**: the hyæna is a fierce animal; it is found: Nat. Hist., p. 7.

jackal: **Masculine**: once studious of his private good, a proud jackal oppressed the wood: Gay in Koch § 89.

leviathan: **Masculine**: leuyethan . . he shal multiplie: Job. 40. 22 A.; (B.: he); — leviathan swims . . and at his gills draws in and at his trunk spouts out a sea: Milton, Paradise Lost, quoted from Koch § 89.

lion: **Masculine**: why nil the leoun comen or the bere that I mighte . . mete him: Chaucer, Legend of G. W. 1214—1215; — when the lion growleth . . he will not be dismayed . . nor abase himself: Isaiah 31. 4; — will a lion roar in the forest, when he has no prey: Amos 3. 4; — if there came a lion roaring at me, I think you 'd fight him: Eliot, Mill, p. 27; — the lion is the most noble of all animals and is called the king of beasts; he is majestic: Nat. Hist.; — did you see the lion of St. Mark? Ay, yes. Why, I saw him fed: Ch. 56.

mouse: a) **Masculine**: the mouse he: Nursery Rhymes in Koch § 91; — an old grey-bearded mouse stretching out his neck: Mor. Fables in Koch § 91; — the cat fished the mouse out and . . she dropped him for an instant: Short Stories, p. 58.

b) **Feminine**: the mouse she: Nursery Rhymes in Koch § 91.

Mätzner, p. 251: mouse bleibt auch als genereller Name weiblich.

c) **Neuter**: if that she sawe a mous . . if it were deed or bledde: Chaucer C. T. A. 144—145.

The word *mouse*, with regard to gender, offers much interest. OE. *mus* was feminine (like Swedish *mus* and German *Maus*), and this historical gender occurs still in English as is seen above, though as early as Chaucer *mouse* occurs as a neuter according to the general rule.

otter: a) **Masculine**: he surveys his long parlien, lord of the stream: Somerville in Behnsch, p. 7.

Mätzner, p. 250: otter gewöhnlich masculin.

b) **Neuter**: the otter is an aquatic animal; it swims: Nat. Hist. p. 7.

panther: a) **Masculine**: the forest's leaping panther . . shall yield his spotted hide: Bryant in Mätzner, p. 250, Koch § 88; — the big panther turned his head away: Jungle, p. 22.

b) **Feminine** (used of a female): a panther of majestic port, the fairest female of the court where'er she moved: E. Moore's Fables quoted from Koch § 88.

sheep: a) **Masculine**: wishing to make the best of his wool, she (the widow) sheared him so closely that she cut his skin: Aesop's Fables in Behnsch, p. 8; — the sheep complained his sides a load of wool sustained: Gay in Koch § 88.

b) **Neuter**: forr shep iss all unnskafefull and makepp itt non mikell bracc jiff mann itt wile bindenn: Orm. 1176—1179.

squirrel: a) **Masculine**: this paria of a squirrel, he had in his mouth a ripe fruit. At every moment he would stop: Marryat in Behnsch, p. 8; — the squirrel, he is cunning: Abbot, The Little Learner in Koch § 89.

Mätzner, p. 250: gewöhnlich masculine.

b) **Neuter**: the squirrel, it lives upon vegetable food: Nat. Hist. p. 9.

swine: a) **Masculine**: ne iherde we næwere on liue tellen of swulche swine, jif pu pider wult riden par he be abidep: Lay. 12313—12316 A.; — a swyn . . he de-

partith the clee: Wyclif, Levit. 11.7 B.; — the swine because he parteth the hoof, he is unclean: Levit. 11.7 in Holy B.

b) **Neuter**: a swyn for it departith the clee: Wyclif, Deuteron. 14.8 B.

tiger: a) **Masculine**: the tiger that I speak of he limps. That tiger limps because he was born lame: Jungle, p. 92; — it is masculine too in Thomson, Macnish, Byron (cf. Fiedler-Sachs, p. 137).

b) **Neuter**: the tiger distinguished for its beauty, it is found: Nat. Hist. p. 6.

unicorn: **Masculine**: the unicorn he shal breke clottis of valeis: Wyclif, Job. 39.10 A.

wolf: **Masculine**: when a greedy wolfe a lamb does take of whom he meanes his bloody feast to make: Spenser, F. Q. B. I. C VI. St. X; — you may as well use question with the wolf why he hath made the ewe bleat for the lamb: Shak. Merchant of V. IV. 1; — a wolf .. deep in the wood secure he lay: Gay. in Herr. 114, c. 2; — wolf, to trample the life out of him: Jungle, p. 99; — a wolf had got a bone stuck in his throat: Aesop's Fables, quoted by Behnsch.

Birds.

The common nouns *bird* and *fowl* are masculine, feminine or neuter.

bird: a) **Masculine**: although his cage — he ever so gay — for ever this brid wol doon his businesse to escape out of his cage if he may: Chaucer, C. T. H. 168—173; — every bird of wing after his kind: Milton in Herr. p. 78. c. 1; — can a bird fall in a snare upon the earth, where no gin is set for him: Amos 3.5; — there is no bird but to his little mate sings he: Payne in Poets, p. 156.

b) **Feminine**: the wakeful bird tunes her noctur-

nal note: Milton in Herr. p. 84, c. 2; — a bird who looks at a snake's eyes gets so frightened that she cannot move: Jungle, p. 176.

c) **Neuter**: tak any brid and put it in a cage to fostre it tendrely: Chaucer, C. T. H. 163—165; — as a bird that had been frightened from its nest: Vicar, p. 99; — the bird flies to its nest: l. c. p. 40; — a bird sitting on its tail: Eliot, Mill, p. 23.

fowl: a) **Masculine**: the unclene watir fowle, that with his bille puttynge water into his ars, purgith hym-silf: Wyclif, Leviticus 11. 17 A.

b) **Feminine**: the seafowl is gone to her nest: Cowper in Mätzner, p. 251.

c) **Neuter**: a waterfowl that puts out its leg in a deprecating manner: Eliot, Mill, p. 46.

crane: **Feminine**: so steers the prudent crane her annual voyage: Milton in Herr. p. 78, c. 2. — Koch § 91: her voyage (Milton, cf. above); Behnsch, p. 9: crane im allg. weiblich: her voyage (Milton) and in Aesop's Fables.

crow: a) **Masculine**: a crow: he (Noah) sente out a culuer after hym (the crow): Wyclif, Genesis 8. 7 A.; — whyt was this crowe as is a snow-whyte swan, and countrefete the speche of every man he coude: Chaucer, C. T. H. 133—135.

b) **Neuter**: now had this P. a crowe which he fostred and taughte it speken: Chaucer, C. T. H. 130—132; — the crow, it has a strong bill. It builds upon high trees: Nat. Hist. p. 19.

Koch § 91: his prey (W. Scott, Rob Roy), her (Mor. fabl.). — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 139: masculin in Moore. — Behnsch, p. 9: männlich oder weiblich ohne Vorwiegen des einen Geschlechts: he (Aesop's Fables); the crow .. opened her mouth (l. c.).

culver: a) **Masculine** (and neuter): he (Noah) sente out a culuer after hym (the crow), the which whan he had not foundun where his foot myȝte rest is turned aȝen . . and he (Noah) strawȝte out his honde and it takun putte into the erke: Wyclif, Genesis 8.8 A.

b) **Feminine**: whann the culuer found not where hir foot schulde reste sche turnede aȝen to hym: Wyclif, Genesis 8.8 B.

c) **Neuter**: as the colver that of the egle is smiten and is out of his clawes . . escaped, yet hit is afered lest hit be hent: Chaucer, Legend of Phil. 2319.

dove: **Feminine**: ther was the douve, with hir eyen meke: Chaucer, Parlement of F. 341; — the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot and she returned: Genesis 8.8 in Holy B.

Koch § 91: stockdove, his plaint (Thomson, Summer). — Mätzner, p. 251: männlich und weiblich: his foot (Milton), stockdove, his plaint (Thomson). — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 139: masculin (Thomson), feminin (Chaucer, Ass). — Behnsch, p. 9: im allg. weiblich (Aesop's Fables and Nurs. Rhymes).

eagle: a) **Masculine**: egle, in stones he dwellith and in heȝe sett scarri flintis he bideth, thennes he behalt mete: Wyclif, Job. 39.28 A.; (B.: egle — he); — the egle gan to crye: Lat be, quod he: Chaucer, House of F. 991; — Jove calls the Eagle. The bird directs his rapid flight: Gay. in Herr. p. 114, c. 1.

b) **Feminine**: doth the eagle mount up and make her nest in high? she dwelleth on the rock and hath her lodging there. From thence she spieth out the prey: Job. 39.27—29 in Holy B.

c) **Neuter**: I saw an egle sore . . . hit semed moche more . . . Hit was of golde: Chaucer, House of F. 499—502; — the golden eagle is considered the king of birds; it is of a tawny colour: Nat. Hist. p. 18.

Koch § 89: he (Scott, Ken., Thomson, Summer); she (Scott, Pir.). — Mätzner, p. 251: his (Thomson); her (Byron). — Behnsch, p. 10: vorwiegend männlich (Aesop's Fables). — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 138: masculin (Chaucer, Gay), feminin (Job. 39. 27).

falcon: a) **Masculine** (or neuter?): the gentil faucon that with his feet distreyneth the kinges hond: Chaucer, Parlement of F. 338.

b) **Feminine**: the wode resounded of hir cry — ybeten hath she hir-self with bothe hir winges: Chaucer, C. T. F. 411; — a falcon towering in her pride of place: Shak. Macbeth 2. 4.

Koch § 90: feminin (example from W. Scott, Pir.). — Behnsch, p. 11: vorwiegend männlich (one example from Byron).

hawk: a) **Feminine**: does the hawk soar by thy wisdom and stretch her wings toward the south: Job. 39. 26.

b) **Neuter**: when the hawk mourns before its empty nest: Prout, Colomba, p. 54; — the hawk after its kind: Levit. 11. 16 in Holy B.

Koch, p. 379: hawk — him (W. Scott, Rob.); his (Gay). — Behnsch, p. 11: his (Thomson). — Mätzner, p. 251: hawk — her prey. — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 139: masculin (Goldsmith, Spenser), feminin in Job. 39. 26.

lark: a) **Masculine**: to hear the lark begin his flight: Milton in Herr. p. 89, c. 2; — the lark pours out himself in song: Palgrave in Poets, p. 149.

b) **Feminine**: the bisy larke . . salueth in hir song the morwe gray: Chaucer C. T. A. 1491—1492.

Koch § 89: masculin (Thomson, Spring; W. Scott, Ken.). — Behnsch, p. 11: im allg. männlich (Thomson, Aesop's Fables), dagegen weiblich in Scott, Gray and Blomfield. — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 139: masculin (Thomson, Nurs. Rhymes). — Mätzner, p. 251: männlich und weib-

lich. He quotes only one example (from Milton: his flight).

nightingale: **Feminine**: than doth the nightingale hir might: Chaucer, Roman of Rose 78; — who taught the nyghtyngall to recorde her strange entunys: Medwall in Herr. p. 13, c. 1; — the solemn nightingale tuned her soft lays: Milton in Herr. p. 78, c. 2; — in her leavy covert . . warbles the nightingale her soul's delight: Paton in Poets, p. 151.

Koch § 91: his lay (Moore's Fables); her (Thomson, Spring). — Mätzner, p. 251: männlich und weiblich gebraucht (no examples). — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 139: masculin (Chaucer, Gay's Fables), feminin (Milton, Surrey). — Behnsch, p. 12: meist weiblich: her nest (Warton), thee chantress (Milton).

ostrich: a) **Feminine**: the wing of the ostrich rejoiceth; for she leaveth her eggs on the earth: Job. 39. 13.

b) **Neuter**: it is incapable of flying, but runs so swiftly that scarcely any animal can overtake it: Nat. Hist. p. 24.

Koch § 90: ostrich — her (Job. 39. 14). — Mätzner, p. 252: vorzugsweise männlich gebraucht. But M. does not quote any example. — Behnsch, p. 12, quotes one example from Holy Scripture, where ostrich is feminine. — Fiedler-Sachs only refers to Job. 39. 14 without quoting the passage.

owl: a) **Masculine**: the owl night's herald: Shak. Venus and Adonis 89.

b) **Feminine**: the ghastlic owle her grievous ynnedoth keepe: Spenser in Sp. III. p. 350, l. 72; — they say the owl was a baker's daughter: Shak. Hamlet 4. 5.

Koch § 89: his sad song (Thomson, Winter); he flew away (The Little Learner): her degree (Nurs. Rhymes); feminin in Ben Jonson. — Mätzner, p. 251: männlich und weiblich (his: Cornwall, her: Gray). — Fiedler-Sachs,

p. 139: masculin in Gay and Nurs. Rhymes; feminin in Ben Jonson. — Behnsch, p. 12: männlich oder weiblich ohne Vorwiegen des einen Geschlechts: his (Thomson, Nursery Rhymes), her (Gray and Bulwer).

Phoenix: **Masculine**: the fowl that is clept Fenix. And he comethe to brenne himself: Maund. 48; — There is only one phoenix at a time who at the close of his long life builds himself a nest in which he dies: Ency. Brit. Vol. XVIII, p. 810, c. 2.

Koch § 91: he flies (Milton); her blood (Shak. Sonnets). — Mätzner, p. 252: der fabelhafte Phoenix (lat. masc.) ist seit ältester Zeit weiblich. — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 139: in Chaucer and Milton masculin, in Ben Jonson feminin.

raven: a) **Masculine** (and neuter): it has a strong bill; in his wild state he is an active plunderer: Nat. Hist. p. 19.

b) **Feminine**: to dislodge the rauen of her neste: Spenser in Sp. III. p. 349, l. 32.

c) **Neuter**: he sent forth a raven and it went forth to and fro: Genesis 8.7 in Holy B.

Koch § 89: his croak (Gay); her funeral wing (Byron). — Mätzner, p. 251: männlich und weiblich (his: Gay; her: Byron, cf. above). — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 139: masculin (Gay). — Behnsch, p. 13: im allg. männlich (Aesop's Fables, Byron), weiblich (Byron).

sparrow: a) **Masculine**: the sparrow Venus sone: Chaucer, Parlement of F. 551; — the sparowe fonde to hym (masc.?) an hous: Wyclif, Psalms 83.4 A.

b) **Feminine**: as the sparrow in her wandering: Proverbs 26.2; — yea, the sparrow hath found her an house: Psalms 84.3.

c) **Neuter**: a sparewe fyndith an hous to itsilf: Wyclif, Psalms 83.4 B.

Koch § 90, 91: her (Bryant), she (Nurs. Rhymes).

— Fiedler-Sachs, p. 139: her nest (Nurs. Rhymes). — Mätzner, pp. 251, 252: her song (Bryant).

stork: a) **Feminine**: the stork knoweth her appointed times: Jeremias 8. 7.

b) **Neuter**: it is less aquatic in its habits: Nat. Hist. p. 25.

Koch § 89: his fill (Nurs. Rhymes). — Mätzner, p. 251: männlich und weiblich gebraucht. M. does not quote any examples. — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 139: feminin in Psalm 104. 17. — Behnsch, p. 13: im allg. weiblich (Aesop's Fables, Bible), männlich (Pope).

swallow: a) **Feminine**: as the swallow in her flying: Proverbs 26. 2; — the swallow (hath found) a nest for herself where she may lay her young: Psalms 84. 3; — the swallow from her distant clime: Allingham in Poets, p. 1.

b) **Neuter**: the swallow is rapid in its flight; it will sometimes fly: Nat. Hist. p. 21.

Koch § 91: herself (Psalms 84. 3); her flight (Spenser); his house (Thomson, Spring). — Behnsch, p. 14: im allg. männlich (Hurdis and Thomson); her (Aesop's Fables). — Mätzner, p. 252: männlich und weiblich gebraucht.

swan: a) **Masculine**: the swan gives out his snowy plumage to the gale: Thomson, Spring in Koch § 91.

b) **Feminine**: the swan . . . between her white wings mantling proudly: Milton in Herr. p. 78, c. 2.

Koch § 91: masculin (Thomson, Spring), feminin: her long neck (Read.). — Behnsch, p. 14: männlich oder weiblich ohne Vorwalten des einen Geschlechts: his plumage (Thomson), her wings (Milton), her plumage (Aesop's Fables). — Mätzner, p. 251: männlich oder weiblich. He quotes an example from Milton, where it is feminine. — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 139: masculin in Chaucer,

Ass.; feminin in Milton and Gay's Fables; neuter in Thomson.

turtle: a) **Masculine**: the turtill a nest wher he leye vp his briddis: Wyclif, Psalms 83.4 A.

b) **Feminine**: the turtle that lost hath hir make: Chaucer, C. T. E. 2080; — the wedded turtel with hir herte trewe: Chaucer, Parlement of F. 355; — turrle ledeþþ chariþ lif . . fra þatt hire make iss dæd: Orm. 1276; — the turtle to her make hath tolde her tale: Surrey in Sp. III. p. 217, l. 4.

c) **Neuter**: a turtle fyndith a neste to itsilf where it schal . . .: Wyclif, Psalms 83.4 B.

Koch § 90: she (E. Moore's Fables); her plaintive strain (Life of J. Bunche). — Mätzner, p. 252: turtle feminine (without any example). — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 139: feminine (Surrey). — Behnsch, p. 14: vorwiegend weiblich (Warton); masculine (Shakspeare).

wren: **Feminine**: the poor wren will fight her young ones in her nest: Shak. Macbeth 4. 2.

Mätzner, p. 252: feminin (Bryant: her bill). — Behnsch, p. 14: vorwiegend weiblich (examples from Nurs. Rhymes and Bryant).

Reptiles.

Reptile: **Masculine**: the great reptile (a python) raised his flat head: Wide W. Mag., December 1899, p. 313; — the enraged reptile lashing most furiously about him: l. c. p. 314; — to stagger to the dead reptile and haul him outside: l. c. p. 314.

cobra: a) **Masculine**: a cobra, he had his platter of milk every night: Jungle, p. 91.

b) **Neuter**: till never a cobra dared show its head: l. c. p. 184; — to follow a cobra into its hole: l. c. p. 181.

crocodile: a) **Masculine** (?): a crocodile which . .

hyding his harmefull guile doth weepe full sore: Spenser, F. Q. B. I. C. V. St. XVIII.

b) **Feminine**: at her feete a crocodile was rold
That with her wreathed taile her middle did enfold:
Spenser, F. Q. B. V. C. VII. St. VI.

Mätzner, p. 250: meist masculin. — Behnsch, p. 15:
im allg. männlich (one example from Thomson is quoted).

lizard: a) **Masculine**: a lisard .. he dwellith:
Wyclif, Proverbs 30. 28 A.; — the lizard with his shadow
on the stone: Tennyson in Poets, p. 209.

b) **Feminine**: the lizard taketh hold with her
hands, yet is she in kings' palaces: Proverbs 30. 28 in
Holy B.

Mätzner, p. 250: gewöhnlich masculin (example
from Skelton).

python: a) **Masculine**: he is always a little blind
after he has changed his skin: Jungle, p. 54.

b) **Neuter**: the python as it dashed around the
small room in its agony: Wide W. Mag., Dec. 1899,
p. 314.

serpent: a) **Masculine**: the old serpent, he is
called the Devil and Satan: Revelation 11. 9; — the green
serpent from his dark abode: Thomson, Summer.

b) **Neuter**: if the serpent bite before it be char-
med: Eccles. 10. 11.

Koch § 89: masculin: his dark abode (Thomson,
Summer). — Mätzner, p. 250: gewöhnlich masculin. —
Behnsch, p. 15: meist männlich: Aesop's Fables and
Thomson, Summer (cf. above). — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 139:
masculin in Chaucer and Thomson; neuter in Exodus 4. 4.

snake: a) **Masculine**: I saw a big snake, his nose
was all sore: Jungle, p. 162; — when the pea-cock sees
one (snake), he simply stands upon him and then pecks
him about the head until he is dead: Koch, Engl. lese-
stücke, p. 18.

b) **Neuter**: when a snake misses its stroke, it never says anything: Jungle, p. 162; — it was a water-snake and L. could see the wave of its body: Eliot, Mill, p. 88; — saw a snake come out of its hole: Short Stories, p. 30.

Koch § 89: snake, he (W. Scott, Ken.). — Mätzner, p. 250: gewöhnlich masculin. — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 139: the snake around his enemy's neck (Shelley); feminine in Beaumont and Fletcher, neuter in Henry VI. 3. 1.

Insects.

Insect: **Neuter**: the hour-lived insect as it hums and flies: Sharp in Poets, p. 189.

Mätzner, p. 253: männliches Geschlecht vorgezogen.

ant: a) **Masculine**: go to the amte and beholde thou hise weyes which whanne he hath no dryk . . . that he schal ete: Wyclif, Proverbs 6. 6 B.

b) **Feminine**: go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways and be wise, which . . . provideth her meat in the summer and gathereth her food in the harvest: Proverbs 6. 6—8 in Holy B.

c) **Neuter**: go to the amte and behold the weies of it, the whiche whan it hath no ledere, it greitheth mete to hymself that it ete: Wyclif, Proverbs 6. 6 A.

Koch § 91: he (Gay), her ways (Proverbs 6. 6, cf. above). — Mätzner, p. 252: bald männlich, bald weiblich. — Behnsch, p. 16: im allg. männlich (examples from Aesop's Fables).

bee: **Masculine**: a wandering bee, in he went: Swift in Herr. 134, c. 2; — thou seest the wild-bee build his narrow cell: Sharp in Poets, p. 189.

Koch § 91: the bee — his store (E. Moore's Fables), her work (Milton). — Mätzner, p. 252: his thighs (Bryant), her work (Milton). — Behnsch, p. 16: vorzugsweise weiblich: her work (Milton), his thigh (Thomson).

butterfly: **Feminine** and **neuter**: the butterflye glorieth not in hyr owen dedes; it committeth not idolatry: Latymer in Sp. III. p. 238, l. 40.

Koch, p. 89: the butterfly — his wings wide he displays (Gay). — Mätzner, p. 252: bald männlich, bald weiblich. He only quotes one example (from Bryant: the butterfly should rest him there). — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 140: masculin (T. Brown and Gay).

cricket: **Neuter**: the crichet after its kind: Leviticus 11. 22 in Holy B.

Mätzner, p. 252: männliches Geschlecht vorgezogen.

fly: **Neuter**: the fly — its life: Ch. 50.

Koch § 91: I am a gentleman (Gay); the fly — she (E. Moore's Fables). — Mätzner, p. 253: männliches Geschlecht vorgezogen. — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 140: masculin (Nurs. Rhymes and Gay); auch feminin (without any example).

grasshopper: **Neuter**: the grasshopper after its kind: Levit. 11. 23.

Fiedler-Sachs, p. 140: masculin (Leviticus 11. 23 and Byron). — Behnsch, p. 17: im allg. männlich: a grasshopper besought the ant to give him a morsel (Aesop's Fables).

locust: **Neuter**: the locust after its kind: Levit 11. 22 in Holy B.

Koch § 89: his kind (Levit. 11. 22, cf. above). — Behnsch, p. 17: männlich: Levit. 11. 22. — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 140: masculin: Levit. 11. 22.

moth: **Feminine**: a large white moth. And towards this the moth slowly drifted, as if the candles sucked her nearer and nearer: Q. Noughts and Crosses, p. 78.

spider: **Masculine**: a certain spider before the gates of his palace: Swift in Herr. p. 134, c. 2.

Koch § 91: him (Gay), her watch (E. Moore's Fables). — Mätzner, p. 253: männliches Geschlecht vor-

gezogen. — Behusch, p. 17: im allg. männlich: him, his den (Irving). — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 140: masculin in Thomson, Tatler, Gay; feminin in Proverbs.

wasp: **Masculine**: the wasp — he now advances: Gay in Koch § 89.

Mätzner, p. 252: männliches Geschlecht vorgezogen. — Behnsch, p. 17: im allg. männlich (Aesop's Fables and Shakspeare). — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 140: masculin (Shak. Shrew 2.1 and Gay).

Fishes and aquatic animals.

dolphin: **Masculine**: a dolphin bore him on his back straight for shore: Aesop's Fables in Behnsch, p. 15; — the dolphin he gave him (the buffoon ape) the slip: Moral Fables in Koch § 89.

Fiedler-Sachs, p. 139: masculin in Moore.

eel: **Masculine**: a man has no better chance of keeping a secret from you women than an eel to keep himself in his hold when he is sniggled: W. Scott, Pirate quoted from Koch § 89; — th' insinuating eel that hides his head: Somerville, quoted from Behnsch, p. 15.

pike: a) **Masculine**: the pike did not show when he was watched for: Eliot, Mill, p. 88.

b) **Neuter**: the pike is remarkable for its size, it not unfrequently weighs upwards of . . . : Nat. Hist. p. 31.

Mätzner, p. 252: männlich: — Behnsch, p. 16: im allg. männlich: he in his turn (Somerville).

seal: **Masculine**: a seal that dared lift up his head: Jungle, p. 148; — each seal leaves a wake . . behind him: l. c. p. 128.

Behnsch, p. 8: im allg. männlich: his habits (W. Scott).

shark: a) **Masculine** (and neuter): the huge shark charged down upon us; and as he approached: Wide

W. Mag., July 1898, p. 384; — the shark is . . unable to close its mouth and the water rushes down his throat and drowns him: Wide W. Mag., Aug. 1898, p. 457.

b) **Neuter**: the shark has a long body: it is voracious: Nat. Hist., p. 32.

Koch § 89: his jaws (Thomson, Summer). — Mätzner, p. 252: männlich. — Behnsch, p. 16: im allg. männlich: his jaws (in Thomson).

trout: **Masculine**: from his lively haunt the trout is banished: Thomson, Summer, quoted from Koch § 89; — his dark haunt: Thomson, quoted from Behnsch, p. 16.

Fiedler-Sachs, p. 139: masculin in Thomson and Nurs. Rhymes.

walrus: **Neuter**: the walrus . . it is the largest . . Nat. Hist. p. 8.

whale: **Neuter**: it is chiefly found in the Pacific Ocean; its principal food: Nat. Hist. p. 17.

Koch § 89: whale — he goes (Shirley by Currer Bell). — Mätzner, p. 250: gewöhnlich masculin.

Finally: the general nouns *animal*, *beast*, *creature*, *monster*.

animal: **Neuter**: the animal itself: Vicar, p. 42; — every animal has its own means of defence: Ch. 19.

beast: a) **Masculine**: Whan a beest is deed, he hath no peyne, but man after his deeth moot wepe and pleyne: Chaucer, C. T. A. 1319—20; — from his lair the wild beast where he wons: Milton in Herr. p. 79, c. 1; — the beast retires to his shelter: Vicar, p. 40; — I saw another beast coming up out of the earth and he had two horns and he spake as a dragon: Revelation 13. 11.

Koch § 91: beast ist nur masculin (examples from Milton and Revelation). — Mätzner, p. 250: beast wie andere ursprüngliche Feminine ist früh als Masculin assi-

milirt (examples from Chaucer and Cowper). — Fiedler-Sachs, p. 137: masculin (example from Milton).

b) **Neuter**: who lijk to the beest and who shal moue fi3te with it: Wyclif, Apocalypse 13.4; — And behold another beast like to a bear, and it was raised up on one side: Daniel 7.5.

creature: **Neuter**: the terrible creature (an octopus) was after him and it extended its tentacle: Wide W. Mag., Aug. 1898, p. 454; — the creature and its prey: l. c. p. 455.

monster: a) **Masculine**: the monster (a python) weakened and I was about to deal him such a blow: Wide W. Mag., Dec. 1899, p. 314; — the monster — he (a shark) could not have been more than four yards away: l. c. July 1898, p. 383.

b) **Neuter**: when the monster (a shark) is dead, its slayer climbs on to its back: l. c., Aug. 1898, p. 457.



DATE DUE

Knutson, A.

The gender of
words denoting
living beings in
English and the
different ways of
expressing sex.

12-8-81 *Birding*

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